THE GIFFORD LECTURES
IN THE
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BASED ON
AND INTRODUCTORY TO
THE RESEARCHES OF THE WILSON FELLOWS
AND OF THE ASIA MINOR EXPLORATION FUND

ASIANIC ELEMENTS
IN
GREEK CIVILISATION

BY

Sir WILLIAM M. RAMSAY, D.C.L., LL.D.
SECOND WILSON FELLOW IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN
CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE INSTITUTE OF FRANCE

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE

This book, an essay of discovery, treats the antecedents, not the delicate genius, of Hellenism. It is the result of many years' work, beginning with the purchase of Hesychius in 1874, when I was an undergraduate. He that begins to work on Hesychius is navigating uncharted seas. Even yet every one finds new things every time he opens that book. The only person that seems to find no difficulties is Moriz Schmidt, the latest editor; and in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, a warning is given that his edition must be used with caution.

I search for the beginnings of Greek civilisation in Asia Minor. Imported things carried their names with them. Words from other lands which came across Asia Minor retained their native form: *e.g.* Cyrus and Xerxes brought the Arabian camel, India or Ceylon sent the peacock, no tin is mined in Anatolia. The names originated in more distant homes.

Often I write Anatolian words in the Latin alphabet, although they are transmitted us only in Greek; but the latter alphabet is less suited to Anatolian pronunciation than Latin. I often omit accents intentionally, as Greek accentuation does not suit the words as the Asian mouth pronounces them.

The book contains the Gifford Lectures in the University of Edinburgh, 1915–1916. They have been wholly rewritten. The important subjects of death and burial, and the worship of ancestors and others, remain untouched for the present. Yet those subjects bulked very largely in Asian life and thought.

By grace of Sir John Murray, Chapter III. was an article in the *Quarterly Review*. Chapter I. prefaced an address to the Congress of Historic Sciences, 1922, at Brussels, Chapter IV. to the First Congress of Byzantine Studies at Bucarest, 1924. All have been rewritten more or less completely.

Circumstances necessitated writing from memory, with rare opportunities of consulting books ; but I write what has grown to be part of my mind during fifty-one years' study, and no library would have changed my ideas except the discovery of the authorities from whom Hesychius and Diogenianus drew.

I have tried to acknowledge much help from many friends ; but especially I must name here Buckler and Sayce, whose ingenuity and kindness never flagged. Time has passed quickly, war has stopped work, and knowledge has grown slowly but steadily.

Much that is here said is unproved. Who can prove that a mountain had a meaning to the Anatolian people five thousand years ago? If any one cannot see the meaning, he should hold his own opinion and throw aside my humble book. I can only state what I have learned in long thinking, travel, discussion, and even controversy. Unfortunately, Anatolian history has been always a battlefield. Those who have not travelled, and have seen nothing, are even more positive than those who have travelled and seen a little ; and the use of covered wagons prevents the traveller from seeing the country. Gradually, however, wise theory has found general acceptance, often with modifications by the originator or by others; yet it has always retained the continuity of a growing truth. For example take the Hittite theory: it is now the Hittite truth, modified and improved. I have lived as a scholar through the whole controversy, from the time when the theory was first proposed, through the long period when the word Hittite was a jest among classical scholars. Now that theory has become a subject of serious study, and those who once laughed (if they were old enough to laugh) write books and articles on Hittite history, and trace the line of Hittite kings; and they even fix the limits beyond which study and theory must not go, and progress is forbidden.

I can safely speak of the Hittites, because my book does not touch that subject. I deal only with Anatolian, pre-Hittite, submerged to some degree by Hittite and later conquests, and post-Hittite. Beliefs, customs, thought, and words, which have lasted through the Hittite, Phrygian, Greek, and Roman periods down to the present day, form the subject of this and, as I hope, of other volumes. I do not write to convince, but to register and suggest. Time will prove or correct. When I find in Hesychius and in late-Phrygian inscriptions and in modern Turkish a word, *oa*, *oua*, *ôba*, *ova*, I recognise an Anatolian word, probably showing that the early ground-stock of Anatolia was akin to Old-Turkish both in character and in language. The Anatolians saw that heaven is full of forms of earthly things, water-carrier, goat, bear, lion, serpent, etc., and that earth is, as Plato knew, the imperfect copy of the heavenly model. That this thought originated in Anatolia I do not believe; but I study it as it appears there.

My starting-point in each case may be a non-Greek word in Hesychius, or a modern place-name (evidently of ancient origin), or a relief of the Roman period, or a Christian martyr legend, interpreted with sympathetic imagination, and with the firm belief that the Anatolian mind is what it was in the beginning. I do not go back to the neolithic period. The use of metals and of many domesticated animals, also a considerable degree of social organisation and of domestic handicraft, were established before I begin. Of the palaeolithic period few traces are known to me. What is needed is not travel, as when ancient topography had to be traced, but systematic excavation, which in some places must be deep.

It is convenient to use the name Asianic for all that concerns the great peninsula of Asia Minor, with its many tribes and its many languages, most of which have long perished. There is no ancient name for Asia Minor as a whole ; it never was a unity. The name Anatolia I use as almost equivalent to it ; but strictly Anatolia is distinguished from Karamania, the south coast of Asia Minor. This book and my studies are confined mainly to the central platean. Cilicia and Pamphylia in various journeys I have only partially traversed, and many problems remain there which I have often wished to study on the spot. " Asian " in the page headings is too wide for my subject, but was shortened from Asianic, which appears on the title-page.

As the pioneer in the study of Asia Minor, history names

ARCHIBALD HENRY SAYCE,

the palakînos (Hesychius, obelised by Schmidt).

Apology is due for occasional repetition in different chapters, due to the desire to make each point clear.

W. M. RAMSAY.

EDINBURGH,
October 18, 1926.

CONTENTS

PAGE
Preface vii

CHAPTER I

The Old-Ionians 1

CHAPTER II

The Mount of God 11

CHAPTER III

Epimenides 20

CHAPTER IV

The Law of Land-ownership in Western Asia 40

CHAPTER V

Nemesis and Justice 54

CHAPTER VI

The Two Vultures at the Gate of Troy 60

CHAPTER VII

Wolf-priests, Goat-priests, Ox-priests, Bee-priests . . . 72

CHAPTER VIII

The Village Right 84

CHAPTER IX

The Phrygian Dirge 93

CHAPTER X

PAGE
The Iliad and the War of Troy 105

CHAPTER XI

The Varying Movement of Ancient Trade in Wheat 118

CHAPTER XII

Hipponax on Lydian Scenes and Society 140

CHAPTER XIII

The Wagon (Benna) 182

CHAPTER XIV

Brotherhoods and Phratrai 190

CHAPTER XV

Heaven and Earth 212

CHAPTER XVI

Betrothal and Marriage 227

CHAPTER XVII

The Four Ionian Tribes 243

CHAPTER XVIII

Anatolian Women 267

CHAPTER XIX

The Kabeiroi 272

CHAPTER XX

The Moon-Goddess in Anatolia 278

CHAPTER XXI

Romance and Chivalry 281

CHAPTER XXII

Gods and Heroes in Homer 284

CHAPTER XXIII

Nature of the Phrygian Mysteries 289

CHAPTER XXIV

Domestication of Animals 295

CHAPTER XXV

Festivals and Trade 298

CHAPTER XXVI

General Principles 300

Addendum 307

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. PAGE

1. A Brotherhood about 1 B.C., Chap. xiv. 196

2. The same Brotherhood one generation later, Chap. xiv. . . . 197

3. The same? Brotherhood one generation earlier, Chap. xiv. . . 199

4. A Rite consecrated by the God in Heaven and performed by his Priest on Earth, Chap. xv. 213

5. Abirkios the Deacon, Chap. xvi. 240

6. The four Garlands of the Iconian Colony, Chap. xvii. . . . 248

7. The Kabeiroi in Anatolia, Chap. xix. 274

8. Sun-god, Moon-goddess, and Cybele, Chap. xx. 279

9. The Anatolian Plough of ancient fashion, from a monument of A.D. 200 at Zemme; illustrating the Peasant God (Zeus Gedeôn), Chap. xxv. 299

Table of the Ionian Tribes, Chap. xvii. 250-251

ERRATA

Page 17. Compare *Itinerarium abbatissae* (formerly called *Peregrinatio Silviae*), probably in Century VI.; in Ch. 23 § 6 the sole MS. (probably of Century XI.) has "Mansocrenas."

„ 76. l. 4. *Read* "Da Wos" as "Dawos."

„ 184. l. 3. *Read* "dissimilation"; also in footnote 1, l. 4 "Tourkomannoi."

„ 190. l. 15. *Read* "Lairbenos."

„ 247. Footnote. *Read* "Roman colonists" *for* "Romanists."

CHAPTER I

THE OLD-IONIANS

More than twenty years ago, writing to a great European scholar, I said that the chief problem which now lay before us as historical investigators was to answer the question, Who were the sons of Yavan, the Old-Ionians, who represent the Greek race in the early Semitic tradition (Genesis x. 4)? They are named in that tradition Elishah and Tarshish and Kittim and Dodanim (called Rodanim in 1 Chron. i. 7).[1] These represent four nations or states, called brothers, either because they were ethnically related, or because they inhabited adjoining regions, were of similar character, and were brought into relations with the Semitic peoples at an early period.[2] "Of these were the isles (coasts?) of the nations divided (parcelled out?), every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations." It is probable that Kittim is Kition in Cyprus, Tarshish is Tarsus. As to Elishah I venture no opinion; but Sayce identifies it with the Alêian plain, east of Tarsus, originally Alêsion. This level and fertile plain probably belonged to the old great city Mallos or

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[1] Probably Rodanim is right. Rhodes was naturally one of the earliest seats where the sons of Yavan would come into relations with the Semites: hence Rodanim is in the first generation from Yavan.

[2] I assume that the Aeolians, Ionians, and Dorians of Asia Minor are brothers in the sense mentioned. The dialects varied in a remarkable way. Herodotus and Hippokrates, both Dorians, wrote in Ionic. The distinction of the three peoples needs much closer investigation. Smyrna, originally Aeolic, became Ionian, owing to pressure from outside.

Marlos. Homer mentions the plain as having once been a lonely, hardly traversable region; and indubitably it was at an early time marsh; see *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 99.

Yavan and Gomer were brothers, sons of Japhet. The eldest son of Gomer was Ashkenaz, whom I have, ever since I began Anatolian study in 1878, regarded as the Anatolian Askania, a geographical name widely spread in Asia Minor, with Men Askaenos and Askanios leading Phrygians and Maeonians to aid Priam. As eponymous hero of land and people, Ashkenaz therefore represents the people of the mass of Asia Minor, so far as that great peninsula was not occupied on its coastlands by Yavan (Greek Ion) and his sons. Jeremiah's enumeration (li. 27), Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenaz (*i.e.* Armenians, people of Kurdistan, and people of Anatolia), confirms this identification.

Later than the fundamental document (Gen. x., 1 Chron. i.) came the invasion of the Phrygians. Askanios is by Homer, who wrote probably about 820 B.C.,[1] described as an ally of Priam and the Trojans, and as hostile to the Achaeans or Achivi in the war of Troy.

The importance of early Ionic literature, the "letters" of the sons of Yavan, occurs to every student, but the total amount of it is not always held in the balance when weighing Asiatic Greece against European Greece. In lyric poetry, the names of Alcaeus and Sappho represent almost the world's highest conception of possible achievement. In elegiac poetry, Mimnermus, Callinus, and Alcman are eminent.

In philosophy and science, Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, and Heraclitus are acknowledged to be among the world's greatest thinkers. Thales knew the period of solar eclipses and predicted that of 602 B.C. Anaximander conceived the earth to be a cylinder, showing marked improvement on the idea that it is a flat surface. Heraclitus, with his brief yet comprehensive statement of great philosophical and physical truths, is a figure that must always interest every thinking person. Who but he could have expressed by two words the great principle that the world is always in a state of flux?[1]

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[1] There was, as is well known, a long interval between the fall of Troy, 1194 B.C., and the period when Homer composed the *Iliad*. As to that, Greek tradition is unanimous. Professor Sayce would shorten this interval, and place Homer about 1000 B.C.

Epic poetry is represented by the great name of Homer, and by several of the Cyclic poets.

Hipponax appears, from a right study of his fragments, to be not merely a master of the art of scurrilous and vulgar lampoon, but also to be endowed with a touch of the true poet, redeeming him from mere vulgarity.

Hecataeus and Herodotus are pre-eminent as historians. Several of the old logographoi, though despised by Thucydides, were Ionians aiming at a co-ordination of legend in the form of history, and their loss is much regretted now, when old Greek legend and tradition is coming into its true value.

Writers who belong to the Cyclades, like Archilochus of Paros, are omitted, though several of the greatest might fairly be reckoned; but the islands of Chios, Cos, and Lesbos, as being so close to and almost embraced in the encircling arms of Anatolia and Asian Greece, must be included.

In medicine Hippocrates is famous throughout all history as the real founder of scientific medicine. Galen, of the Roman period, an Anatolian also, is the only name which vies with his in ancient medical treatment. Their experience was gained among the crowd of sick persons who resorted to the temples of Asklepios at Cos and many other places where curative hot springs exhibited the kindly healing power of the goddess that ruled the earth, whether she was called simply "the goddess" without distinctive personal name, or Cybele or Artemis Anaeitis according to the more recent fashion of the Hellenic world. The patients thought as a rule that they were cured by the divine messages (often sufficiently absurd and appealing to mere popular superstition) as conveyed in revelations and dreams; but these messages were interpreted and applied by prophets and doctors at the various shrines. At Epidaurus the records of cures of the many patients contain little but unscientific superstition; but the note-books of doctors would certainly exhibit a different account. The patients received medical attention (as in Acts of the Apostles xxviii.).

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[1] *πάντα ῥεῖ.*

It is not merely the excellence, literary or scientific, of these great men that is surprising. More astonishing by far is their creative character. They are new men making new discoveries and inaugurating new departments of thought. Their pre-eminent character as the creators of Greek literature and science has rarely been valued, largely because, with the exception of Homer, none of them are spared completely by the destroying hand of time, or even fairly represented by sufficient fragments. The schools of modern classical teaching occupy themselves too exclusively with the Drama, which as a real literary department is the creation of Attica, though even its humble origins have to be sought in Asia Minor and in the Ionic element of the Athenian population.

The general tendency in modern estimate of Greek thought is to regard Athens as "the Eye of Greece, Mother of Arts and Eloquence," whereas the true source of almost every branch of literature and science, and the earliest great names in almost every department, belong to the cities and colonies of the Old-Ionians. We have made an exception in respect of the Drama, which, having its origin probably in Ionian and Anatolian burial custom, was developed to literary form in Athens. We must also except oratory, which is the means of appealing to democracy,[1] whether it be the speech of statesman or of demagogue or of "carpet-bagger."

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[1] The connexion of oratory and democracy has been strongly emphasised by Grote in his *History of Greece*.

One remarkable fact strikes every observer: viz. that the personal names in old Greek mythology are rarely Greek, and it is remarkable how many of these occur in later Anatolia either in the exact form that they have in European Greece, or in a very similar form.

We must, of course, take into account the tendency which was very strong in the late Hellenistic period to translate Anatolian names into Greek or Latin. When, *e.g.*, we find in Lycaonia a person who is called Longus, and another who is called Dolichos, we may be pretty certain that the original native name was an Anatolian word signifying "the tall man," which in the affectation of the time was rendered into the two highly civilised languages of the world. The peasantry of the Anatolian plateau are big, powerful men. As Mahaffy used to say, they are, like the Irish, "fed on the milk of a limestone plateau." And in the first fragment of Hipponax we read that a Maeonian trader comes down to Ephesus along the Royal Road, which is described stage by stage: he is a big man, broad and stoutly built,[1] in girth much surpassing the sons of Yavan, who were a slighter-built race (though Polemon describes the later Ionians as strongly built).

As in literature, so in war. From the time that European Greece became more powerful than Asiatic Greece every attempt made by the Greeks of Europe to establish a dominant influence or an Empire on the eastern side of the Aegean Sea on the coasts of Anatolia has been in the long run not merely a failure, but a disaster to both divisions of the Greek people. When the attempt is made to slump up in thought these two divisions a real historical confusion is created. They are not the same people, though they spring from the same stock; the European Greeks are a very mixed race and so are the Anatolian Yavan. The intermixing elements in European Greece come largely from the north, in Anatolia they come in early times mainly from the Asiatic side. Yet a great Ionian immigration into Europe from Asia formed certainly an important element in the making of European Greece; and after Alexander's conquest many European Greeks settled in Asian cities, and are mentioned on the coins of those cities. The foundation legends of those cities, where they are preserved, are not fictitious, but veil the facts.[1]

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[1] When Hipponax describes him as "turning" (not his face, but) "his belly towards the setting sun," the poet need not be understood as alluding to the trader's "pot-belly" simply, but to the girth of a big, broad-built, stout man, whom the slighter and more delicate Ionians ridiculed. Hipponax was vulgar. In 1886 I had a servant from the Konia district, who had been the strongest porter in Smyrna. I was told that he could carry a weight of four tons on his back (balanced on a saddle). It seems hardly credible, but this was the account given me. He was hard on a horse, and the horse was hard on him.

I have spoken of the Asiatic coast Greeks as the Old-Ionians, the sons of Yavan. It may be objected that there were three divisions implying different races, Aeolic, Ionic, and Doric, but, as stated in a footnote on p. 1, it may reasonably be held that these are really local varieties of the Asian (or Eastern) Greeks, and Ionic in its archaic form was probably much nearer Aeolic and Doric than it subsequently became. The most representative and the most influential of Anatolian Greeks were undoubtedly the Ionians. Their cities from Phocaea to Miletus were by far the greatest centres of emigration. From the coast of Spain to the eastern side of the Black Sea it was their influence that proved almost supreme. Miletus on the south preferred the Black Sea; Phocaea on the north preferred the western parts of the Mediterranean; and the idea was held in the busy Ionian markets that these extreme lands were bordering on or even part of the encircling ocean.[2] Naturally among Hellenes there were local feelings and feuds. Even in regard to Homer it is apparent that he belonged to the northern part of the west coast, perhaps Smyrna, the old Aeolic city, Ionised at a later time, for he shows a feeling against Miletus, the only Greek city which he mentions as an ally of the Trojans.

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[1] See the writer's article in *Strena Buliciana*, on "Epigrams and Coins of Phrygian Cities," p. 663.

[2] It was even held that a bold sailor could make his way into the circumambient ocean at one point of those far-away lands, and emerge at some other point into the known sea, *i.e.* Mediterranean.

Far above and earlier than all other authorities for the literary character of the sons of Yavan and for their relation to Ashkenaz, the people of the main plateau of Asia Minor, is Homer, the first and the greatest literary figure known to us. He is also the real maker of Hellenism, that fine and delicate product which survives through, and is the teacher of, all subsequent ages, so far as they are capable of learning from it. Hellenism was born on the west seas and islands of Anatolia and was nursed amid the clash of arms in their war dances.

The idea of such inevitable contest between Asia and Europe, an idea that breathes through the *Iliad* and Herodotus's history, finds its first expression in the terms Yavan and Ashkenaz of Genesis x.

The earliest stages in the relation between Yavan and Ashkenaz are known mainly from the study of words. Greek is a highly composite language, and a very large number of words connected with agriculture, horticulture, the working of metals, and so on, came into European Greece from Anatolia. Along with the art came the name of the product which was worked. Hence our study must be largely based upon words, and it is useful to give a few examples, first laying down three principles: (1) any word which is either peculiar to Homer, or found in Greek only as learned from Homer and imitated by later writers, is likely to be Anatolian; (2) any word in Greek which is identical with the early native name of an Anatolian town or village, organised according to the Anatolian fashion, is equally likely to be a borrowed Anatolian word; (3) any personal name in Anatolia which was used in Greece in very early times or in mythology is also likely to be Anatolian in origin.

Fick, in his bold pioneering style, has shown that classification, implying preliminary hypothesis, offers the only path of progress.

In his *Vorgriech. Ortsnamen* and the supplementary *Hattiden und Danubier*, hardly ever mentioned now in his own country, he began the work, stated many useful general principles, and made many illuminating suggestions. He was not always right : that is the penalty which the initiator has to pay. The second of these books sometimes differs from the first, and makes "corrections" which are not always improvements. Yet he remains the pillar of fire to show the way. He classified on the principle that Anatolia was a battle-field between East and West. Perhaps he was hardly conscious of this at first, and he nowhere emphasises it, because his method was simply to yield to the sweep and guidance of etymological tides and tendencies ; but he must indubitably have had some idea of it, when he used the bold title *Hattiden und Danubier* ; Asian and Balkanic.

It is, however, not yet certain that the *Khattiden* were Asian. According to Hrozny and those who rally to his standard, Khattiden almost implies something like Proto-Latin ; I use a vague term, which Hrozny would doubtless qualify and change ; but he makes the Khattiden European or at least non-Asiatic, and rather Western than Oriental.

Personally I start with the hypothesis that the Khattiden, or Hittites, were not the primitive Anatolian population, but a conquering tribe, coming in either from the north-east or from the Balkan peninsula : in my opinion, if I may venture to state it, more probably from the latter direction.

But the question must be asked whether the sons of Yavan are in the true sense beginners and initiators, or had been stirred up by suggestions and ideas coming from farther east? The latter opinion is not merely more probable, but also, I think, practically certain. In every great movement there are two influences required to produce the life-giving spark ; and in this case these influences are typified by the two names of Yavan and Ashkenaz, the latter of which represents, as I believe, the people of the Anatolian plateau, and not, as has been maintained by some recent scholars, the Scythians, who belong to the north and north-east side of the Black Sea and lie entirely out of the line of growth of civilisation. The growth of civilisation has its moving power in the intercourse that took place across the great bridge between East and West, viz. the plateau of Asia Minor. There was constant intercourse along this bridge between the coast peoples, who were the sons of Yavan, and the Anatolian population of the plateau, who came down to the port towns to trade, as we know from Hipponax and other sources, bringing with them the products of the inner regions of the land. Our earliest authorities do not speak of the coast peoples as going up into the interior of the country, but of the people of the interior coming down to the coast cities in the prosecution of trade. They brought their products and even their knowledge and their arts to the coast, and in this intercourse arose the stimulus to the extraordinary development of Ionian literature, science, and art. With the articles and the religion that they brought came the Anatolian names for them, and thus Greek came to be largely permeated by Anatolian words (see Ch. XIX.).

The knowledge of metals and the method of working metals undoubtedly had its origin either on the plateau, or possibly farther east and crossing the land-bridge towards the west. The movement of civilisation is almost always west. The German *Drang nach Osten* forms an apparent exception, but it was evanescent and productive of little real advantage to either side. The Russian movement towards the east can hardly be called a movement of civilisation. It has done little or nothing in the way of making even an attempt to civilise. The sun of light and life moves from East to West.

The adoption of words from Anatolian into Greek is most marked in the sphere of religious and social institutions. These institutions were sometimes religious in aspect, sometimes social; but in the ancient Anatolian theocracies religion dictated and guided social forms, for all social organisation proceeded from the goddess, who through the god as priest taught her children the rules of right living, good agriculture, the care of domestic animals, and the amenities of life, and who punished her servants when they transgressed any of her laws.[1] The punishment took the form of plague or pestilence, or of malaria, that fire which is hidden within the body.

The laws of the goddess, being framed for the protection of society as a whole, were designed to preserve the health of the community; an individual when affected by a disease looked into his conscience to find what law of the goddess he had violated; but above all other forms of penalty the wasting form of fever, which as it were lies in the bones and destroys the body without any specific affection of one part or organ, was regarded as peculiarly the weapon used by the goddess. In the *Iliad*, i. 49 ff., the god and the goddess kill the Greeks with their arrows; whereas the pestilence was the natural result of congregating large numbers in a camp; but the Greeks saw the cause in their own sin in violating the household of the god's priest, which had roused the divine wrath. The terrible pestilence of 430 B.C. was the inevitable result of bringing the whole people of Attica within the Long Walls, and the total disregard of sanitation.[2]

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[1] The Art. "Phrygians" in Hastings' *Encycl. of Ethics and Religion* is really and mainly a sketch of the early society of Anatolia.

[2] Those who lived in Athens about 1881, 1882, and even, as I am told, much later, know how horrible that disregard was.

CHAPTER II

THE MOUNT OF GOD

It is a principle in modern Anatolian land-right that there can be no property in uncultivated or unused land. The owner must make use of his land. This is certainly also ancient Anatolian custom and law. Hence mountains, where (as is usual) they are uncultivable, and waste land generally are No-man's Land, but God's land; and a range of mountains constitutes the best boundary. The hand of God has made a division there, and separated country from country, people from people. This is a view natural in early society. If land is desert, or if people see that no use is made of it, primitive man justly considers that there is a right of way all over it. The distinction of "the Desert and the Sown" exists in all lands where there is not a modern civilisation that has created artificial distinctions and consecrated illegally legal rights.

The Taurus has always been a boundary: *cis* Taurum and *ultra* Taurum are traditional terms. Part of the Taurus, a ridge snow-clad till late in the summer, is still called Allah-Dagh, the Mount of Allah;[1] it is prominent in the view from north of Konia; south of Konia it is mostly hidden by the lower front range of Taurus. It forms the southern boundary of Isaurica,[2] *i.e.* the northern slopes and broken country of the main plateau of Taurus, for Taurus is not a single ridge of mountains, but an elevated, generally rugged plateau, often eighty or more miles in breadth, and sometimes rising very steep from the central plateau on the north or from the sea coast on the south, sometimes having a mass of foot-hills intervening. Isaurica is a mass of foot-hills of the character described. The hills between Tarsus and the Cilician Gates are of the same type.

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[1] Ala-Dagh, the spotted or variegated mountain, is also a name often confused with Allah-Dagh.

[2] Isaurica (Strabo, p. 568) has a quite different denotation from Isauria, a Roman and exotic term, applied with the usual Roman carelessness (about which Strabo elsewhere complains). Isaurica is the land of the two towns Isaura, called

The nature of the lofty Taurus plateau as the "Mount of God" and the division between two different countries is most clearly apparent in regard to the two roads which lead between Cilicia and Cappadocia. The best road is that of the Cilician Gates, a narrow gap winding among lofty mountains and opening to the south on the foot-hills about Mopsou-krene, the Fountain of Mopsus, a splendid spring near Mazar-Oluk. On the northern side you are in Cappadocia, a land of the plateau; on the southern side you are in fertile foot-hills and the lowlands of Cilicia. The character of Taurus as a boundary is marked by the names of the frontier towns on each side of Taurus proper both in this and in the other road by Adana to Mallos. The two roads both pass through the little Vale of Bozanti (Podandos).

It formerly seemed to me probable that from Cilicia, the earlier line of communication with Cappadocia was Mallos–Mopsouestia–Adana–Podandos; and that later (but long before the fifth century B.C. began) the cutting of the Cilician Gates and the formation of a wagon-road made the line Tarsus–Mopsoukrene–Cilician Gates–Podandos better than the older path, so that Mallos lost its pre-eminence (see *Cities of St. Paul*, pp. 112 ff.). Mallos, originally Marlos, had an earlier coinage than Tarsus. Hence I formerly called it the older foundation. Now, however, I am doubtful on this point and incline to think that Tarsus (Tarshish) was very old,

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by the geographer villages, *kômai*, because they were organised on the Anatolian, not on the Hellenic system. They were not *poleis*, though as large as many Hellenic cities (*poleis*).

founded by Perseus, and named Tarsos-Tersos, the dry land, and becoming important after its refoundation by joint Old-Ionians and original Anatolians (ἐπίκτισις). Perseus is really the hero-founder of Tersos (still called Tersoús) and the names are connected.

At any rate these two lines of communication were both used from an early time: each crosses the dividing mountains of Taurus, the "No-man's Land"; and each descends on the northern side into a deep little oval glen among the outer Taurus mountains, in which lies a small town or village, called now Bozanti, Byzantine Podandos. There are various possible forks in the road. Below Taurus on the southern foot-hills these are frequent. From the Vale of Bozanti a difficult path leads direct north to a plain beside a lake, with Zengibar-Kale towering on the left, the old Kizistra (Djosastaroun, ἐγγὺς ἀστέρων), whose ruins are still so conspicuous. The wagon-road goes W. and N.W. to Takhta-Keupreu, where a side road forks up a stream with frequent fords (Strabo, p. 587) to Tyana. The wagon-road continues W. to Ovajik and Ulu-Kishla; here at Loulon-Halala it forks N. to Tyana and W. to Kybistra.

Hierocles places Regepodandos (regio-Podandos) in Cappadocia. The very name Regio Podandos indicates that there was no city, not even a proper town here; but a mere stretch of land, a little valley; that was the case in the early sixth century and still at the present day. It was made a bishopric by Basil the Great, bishop of Caesarea, who appointed Gregory Nazianzen its first bishop, much to the latter's annoyance. Gregory calls Podandos a pit (*ceadas*), and the epithet fairly pictures this little place, now only a khan (in the years 1882, 1890, 1891, 1902) with some nomad tents in the valley (5 miles by 2 or 3) and with high steep mountains around. The boundary between Cappadocia and Cilicia changed in the later Byzantine period, and still remained at Ak-Keupreu, 6 miles farther on to N.W., at least as late as 1902 (when I was last there).[1] The

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[1] About Ak-Keupreu (White Bridge) there might be much to say which is partly related in *Journ. R.G.S.*, 1903, p. 390 ff.

Seljuk and Osmanli Turks continued the Byzantine system in many matters of administration. Podandos as a bishopric was then attached to Cilicia, and hence it appears in lists of Cilician bishoprics subject to Antioch of Syria, and not among the bishoprics subject to the patriarchate of Constantinople. In all probability this change was the result of the long wars between the Arabs with their military centre at Tarsus and the Byzantine Empire; and the lists which assign Podandos to Cilicia belong to the period after 964, when Cilicia was definitely reunited to the Empire.

It appears from Xenophon's *Anabasis* that Syennesis, the Cilician king, had determined to guard the heights between Bozanti and the Cilician Plain against the insurgent march of Cyrus. When Syennesis heard, however, that Menon and his troops, marching from Laranda in Lycaonia, had entered Cilicia and were in a position to threaten the Cilician capital, the king abandoned the passage of the mountains, and retreated to Tarsus. The scouts of Cyrus would learn that the summit was no longer guarded, and send word to Cyrus quickly. The Gates are a narrow pass 300 ft. or 400 ft. long cut through a mountain ridge, 500 ft. below the summit, about three miles south of Ibrahim Pasha's Lines, at the side of a little stream 3750 ft. above sea-level (aneroid estimate: Sir C. Wilson made it 3500 ft. boiling-point calculation).

In the more precise definition of Roman government, the "bounds of the Cilicians" were fixed at the Cilician Gates, as is shown by a Roman inscription on the Gates in Greek letters.[1]

Podandos, in its situation in that little glen deep among the mountains, could never have been a place of any importance except in a military point of view, or as a meeting-place of roads. Here an army which was intending to force the passage of the Taurus into Cilicia must have its basis of operations, and the place was known to Greek writers as the Camp of Cyrus, because here the Younger Cyrus (as the *Anabasis* relates) halted and made his final preparations for attacking Cilicia. A historical incident altered the name in the estimation of the outer world for a time, but to the natives of the district the old name continued always unchanged.

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[1] In *A.A.S.S.*, April 6, p. 562, the editors suggest that Polyandos Comanorum was Podandos (Padyandos); but this is hardly probable and the Greek text has Πολυανδροῦ.

Strabo, p. 539 (six days from Mazaka-Caesarea), seems certainly to identify the Camp of Cyrus with the Vale of Bozanti. This shows that the Camp can hardly (as a recent German writer holds) be identified with Ovajik, the plain of Loulon-Faustinopolis, nine hours farther up the river. It is true that Xenophon's account might easily suggest that Cyrus halted in Ovajik, one stage from Tyana (Dana); so far the German scholar has good show of right (I have lost the reference to his work); but Strabo is clear as to the locality in his time. Xenophon gives no statements of time or distance after Tyana: the advance to Podandos was slow, and there was some waiting at halts. There are only two ways from Tyana, one direct down a stream which crosses at Takhta-Keupreu (Wooden-Bridge) a tributary stream, then on to Podandos: it is called Maurianon (*H.G.A.M.* p. 350): the other, the Roman road and the modern wagon-road, goes through a pass and joins the main stream between Ulu-Kishla and Ovajik. The mountains forbid any third path. The former road was used in ancient times occasionally, for it is mentioned in a so-called interpolation in Strabo, p. 568. This interpolation cannot be modern or mediaeval, for no one knew about either road then. It might date from the Arab period, when the Roman road was destroyed to prevent attack from Arab or from Byzantine armies. The road from Ovajik seems never to have been restored rightly after it, along with its guardian castle Loulon-Halala, was destroyed in the frontier wars against the Arabs. When Strabo speaks of the distance between Mazaka-Caesarea and the camp of Cyrus as six days, he refers to Karydion, a direct pass from Mazaka *via* Kyzistra to Podandos, but high and very difficult, between Ala-Dagh (in which are Bereketli-

Maden silver mines) and the Eastern Taurus. Nicephorus (*c.* 960) had a choice between Maurianon and Karydion, and used the former in advancing, the latter in retreating.

Bozanti, then, was the first town of Cappadocia which the traveller reached as he went north, and it is not an unnatural supposition that it should take the name "Cappadocian-Place." Professor Sayce informs me that Katpatu-ka[1] or Katpadu-ka is the name of Cappadocia in the early Persian cuneiform inscriptions (about 500 B.C.): it was the land of the Kat, add the common Anatolian suffix and there results Katpadu-ando-s. In this long name the first syllable, which was by its nature separable, dropped, and the name became Paduandos: doubtless, Kat was a separate word, presumably a tribal name connected with such words as Kataonia. This form Paduandos is found both in Ptolemy and in the Peutinger Table, and the agreement of these two authorities proves that it was the form used in the survey of the Roman Empire, made under the orders of Agrippa and commonly dated in the years ending 12 B.C. We have then a form Paduandos, which during the Roman period changed through metathesis of "u" into Paudandos, becoming Podandos and modern Bozanti.

As the town on the north of the frontier was the Place of the Cappadocians, so the station on the south as one goes down from the Gates to Taurus was also marked as a limit of population by its name, Mopsoukrene, the "fountain of Mopsos." Mopsos and Amphilochos, the two prophets,[2] mark the Old-Ionian power on the coast, as the Ionians regarded it. To the Semites this was Yavan. The situation of the fountain is certain. No one can mistake that great stream of water which flows out of the hill close by the modern road at Mazar-Oluk; and here was the last station to the north held by the Old-Ionians under their divine leader Mopsos, sent forth by Apollo from Klaros. The hero Mopsos represents the extreme penetration of the Old-Ionians into Cilicia. Between Mopsoukrene and Paduandos runs the lofty ridge of Taurus N.E. to S.W. Yet certainly the ancient guard-house was at the Gates. In modern times with modern weapons the Gates could not be defended, and "Ibrahim Pasha's Lines," on the summit three miles north of the Gates, were the defence about 1832–9, and would still be so.

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[1] Katpatuka was the form of the Anatolian name for the country: compare Benneuekê in an inscription close to the Midas-tomb, the land of Benni or Zeus Bennios or Benneus, also Isaurica, the land of the two villages Isaura.

[2] The two prophets are the two dogs of Apollo (Lycophron, 444 f.). Apollo is often represented holding up two dogs in his two hands; he was the dog-choker, the lord of the two dogs (as Hermes is called by Hipponax). Amphilochos, an unknown Anatolian name, drops out of this tradition. Mopsos, perhaps originally Moxos.

Mopsoukrenai is mentioned in the Peutinger Table as Crunis, *i.e.* [a Mopsou]crunis. In Parthey-Pinder the name occurs as Mansucrinae (*Jerus. Itin.*) and Nampsoucrone (*i.e.* Mopsucrouni, *Itin. Provinc.* 145). In Parthey-Pinder, App. I., it is called Mopsoucrenai, but the mediaeval change of name has been lost.

Confirmation of the import of the name Mopsoukrene is afforded by Mopsouestia at the crossing of the river Pyramos on the road from Mallos to Adana. Mallos was an early and very great centre of the Old-Ionian power in Cilicia. It was the greatest stronghold of Old-Ionian and Greek power at the beginning of recorded history in this region. Tarsus, being some distance from the coast, rose later to importance in western commerce, as is proved by the coinage (details in *The Cities of St. Paul*, pp. 112 ff.). Perseus, the hero of the Tarsian early history and tradition, who fared west along the south coast of Karamania with his fleet of one hundred ships,[1] founded Tarsos-Tersos-Tarshish, mixed with the people of Tarku in Cilicia Tracheia, where the dynasty was Aiant-Teukro, *i.e.* Yavan-Tarku, and so penetrated to found Iconium, where he was the hero of the foundation legend.

Mopsouestia, "the hearth of Mopsus," sounds a rather unconvincing name, like an attempt to give Greek meaning to a native name. During the Middle Ages the ending of the name appears as "stra," not "stia," and this is probably original. "Stra" is a common ending of town names in Anatolia, as *e.g.* Kybistra,[1] Kyzistra, Kraonistra, Kilistra: probably also Lystra, the Greek form, Latin Lustra, should be added. Lustra was the ancient, Zoldera, *i.e.* Soltra, the modern by metathesis. According to Sayce the Hittite name of Lustra was Losna, as Kubisna was Hittite for Kubistra.

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[1] See Sayce in *J.H.S.*, 1925.

Various forms occur, Mompsistea, Mampsysta, in late documents Mamistra, Malmistra, and even Mamista (Glykas, p. 306, Anna Comnena, ii. 126, with loss of the soft Anatolian "r": given in Parthey, App. I., as a changed name of Kastaballa, *i.e.* Kastabala), modern Missis (a peculiar form, perhaps assimilated to the mediaeval Sision and modern Sis). Tomaschek, *Zur hist. Topogr. von Kleinasien*, p. 106, gives also Mamistria. Pliny calls it Mopsus: the ethnic is Μοψεάτης.

No local name in Anatolia appears in a more bewildering variety of forms than Mopsouestia, except Siniandos, and in both we observe the occasional presence, occasional absence, of the sound "r" which has been explained elsewhere as a semi-vocalic "r" (like the English *pretty*) customary in Anatolian speech, which had not the same sound as *rho* in Greek, and which appears and disappears in the graecisation of Anatolian names. In spite of the authorities, the accent in local pronunciation must always have fallen on the syllable -is-: hence the modern name Missis. Probably the late forms are nearer the local pronunciation, and the name was something like Mampsistra or Mopsistra.

In Malmistra it is improbable that "l" is original. It appears only in mediaeval Latin authorities. The intrusion of "l" in Malmistra is similar to the apparent intrusion of "l" in Talbonda,

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[1] In the very late Notitiae x., xiii., Κύβιστα is the form: compare Mamista. This "change of name" in Parthey, App. I.-III., must mean that in the late Middle Ages Kastabala ceased to be a Christian city and was merged ecclesiastically in Mamista (as Kolossai in Chonai).

Tumandos; the phenomenon is analogous to the variation in the use or omission of "r."[1] In both cases the "l" is probably original, and in both cases "l" comes before either "b" or "m" (Tum-Taub-Talb). The fact that the form Talbonda appears in Ptolemy suggests that it may come from the lists of Agrippa, which is the oldest authority known for the name. Late inscriptions and most Byzantine documents have forms identical with or pointing to Tumandos, but Talbonda appears in the Latin signature of a bishop who was present at the Council of Constantinople A.D. 448 (*Hist. Geogr. A.M.* p. 402). The bishop's signature is in Latin and Greek, both being official records. In Greek he signs as bishop of Tumandos. Talbond, the oldest form, became Talmand and Tumand.

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[1] Compare Paduandos, Podandos, p. 16, in respect of the vowels. A similar example occurs in the modern Scots name Buchanan, which was originally in Celtic something like Balquhennan: the same or a similar name is the place Boquhan in the upper Forth valley. In the Celtic local name Balquhidder the sound of "l" disappears in Scots pronunciation, which is something like Bawhidder.

CHAPTER III

EPIMENIDES

A TYPICAL figure in the transition from the Aegean and Anatolian to the Hellenic type of civilisation is the great Cretan Epimenides. The island of Crete, stretching from East to West across the entrance to the Aegean Sea from the south, has always offered a refuge for fragments of races which it receives from Asia and from Europe. Thus it has been a microcosm of the Aegean world from the time of Homer onwards. The poet says that "There is a land called Crete in the midst of the wine-dark sea, a fair land and a rich, begirt with water, and therein are many men innumerable, and ninety cities. And all have not the same speech, but there is confusion of tongues; there dwell Achaeans and there too Cretans of Crete, high of heart, and Cydonians there and Dorians of waving plumes and goodly Pelasgians."

In mediaeval times many Venetian settlers found a home there. They were mainly aristocratic adventurers and they have made a deep impression on mediaeval and modern Crete; but this page of history has never been written.

Epimenides stands like a Colossus with one foot in the past and one in the present, one foot in Anatolian civilisation and one in the development of Hellenism. Crete is the land which would naturally produce such a figure. The mixed population of the island made it important in the growth of Hellenic thought and custom; yet Epimenides is a man essentially and originally pre-Hellenic, though a great originator of Hellenism and Hellenic unity of feeling as distinguished from the Aegean type of civilisation out of which it grew. That fine product which we call Hellenism, with its freedom of view in politics and society, its delicate perception of symmetry in art and literature, its bold confidence in the individual man as the governor of his own life, was evolved amid the strife of nations in the Levant and the Aegean from the amalgamation of many diverse tribes. Hellenism was a product so many-sided that it could not arise amid a homogeneous race, so delicate that the proper balance of the various racial characteristics which produced it could not last very long, so important in the development of modern society that it cannot lose its value for us, so unique in type that it can never cease to interest educated men.

The enigmatic figure of the Cretan prophet, poet, and religious lawgiver, Epimenides, is eminent in Athenian historical tradition in the sixth century B.C. He stands on the step from the old religion (let us call it Graeco-Anatolian) to the new Olympian religion of Hellenism, fully conscious of the character, and sympathetic with the ideals, of both. He was a vigorous personality, sound in body and mind, who lived a long life through a period of rapid development, and appreciated the great changes that occurred around him. It is a poor and niggardly criticism which denies his historical character, because he altered with his times instead of standing self-consistent and unmoved amid a changing world. Epimenides lived through an epoch of very quick growth in the sixth century B.C., growing with the time and helping to guide the progress of history; but some critics cannot see the process.

In a superficial view Epimenides does not inspire confidence. The few scraps preserved from his works do not correspond to his reputation, nor afford sufficient ground for the eminence ascribed to him in tradition; but they have never been reasonably interpreted according to the nature of early thought. His name is encrusted with legend (*e.g.* he slept for 57 or 60 years in a cave), and he became a centre round which gathered much folk-lore. The same thing happens in all periods to certain outstanding figures, not merely in the remote dawn of history, but even at the present day. There have always been figures in Oxford university life who become encrusted with stories, some of which isolate and exaggerate one feature in a complex personality, while others show the man in an unreal character as the undergraduate conceives him. Yet there must have been some reason for all those mythical or semi-mythical caricatures. A serious argument against the historicity of the Cretan prophet is chronological. The immense reputation which he enjoyed in all later Greek tradition is based on his visit to Athens; he was invited to purify that city from the guilt incurred because the adherents of Cylon were massacred about 612 B.C. The idea gradually formed itself that this crime was followed quickly by the purification; and the general belief, shared even by Aristotle, was that Epimenides visited Athens about 600 B.C. Plato, however, says that the visit was made about 500 B.C., ten years before the Persian Wars. That alleged earlier visit is due to later misinterpretation of old religious ideas. Guilt lasted even to the third and fourth generation. In Athens the guilt remained, and was used as a party weapon, and played a great part in politics for a full century. Solon attempted to atone for the guilt, but failed: he employed legal means, whereas this guilt was a religious fact and could not be expiated except by religious means.

Attic tradition mentions no second visit made by Epimenides; he came once and was successful. On his complete success depends his place in the historical memory of Greece. He was not a figure of the developed Hellenic science with the purely Hellenic outlook on life; there was about him something of the "medicine-man" and the seer of visions. Such a personage cannot survive failure. The reputation of the Cretan seer was founded on an eminent and instantaneous success. No supposition of a second visit to repair the failure of the first can account for his position in the Greek world. He swept away, once and for ever, the guilt and terror of a bad episode in Athenian history, and in achieving this result he did much more.

The eminent witness is Plato, who in *The Laws* twice refer to the Cretan with the highest respect. Plato describes an incident that occurred about forty years before his own birth and impressed his people both as epochal, because from it originated the alliance between Athens and Cnossos, and as regenerative, because this Cretan was one of the great inventors who carried out in practice what Hesiod had preached of old, applying precepts of reason and forethought about healthy life to reform the thought and conduct of Athens. Plato clearly refers to an historical fact. Only the most sceptical of critics could imagine that he was inventing a tale or apologue. No one explains how a legendary Epimenides could so quickly impose himself on Athenian memory as a real personage. The Cretan, the Spartan, and the Athenian who talked about him, all recognised in him not only a real person worthy to be ranked alongside of the great discoverers of ancient days, but "actually a man of yesterday."

Plutarch is one of our principal authorities. He lays great stress on the important effects produced by Epimenides in his visit. He describes the Cretan as a great religious figure, who was thought by his contemporaries to be of divine or half-divine origin, and who purified Athens, reformed the spirit of Athenian life, and changed the half-Oriental features of Attic religion into the more orderly and restrained tone of Hellenism. He tells how Epimenides, by means of certain methods of propitiation and purification and by religious foundations, raised the standard of piety in the city, made the citizens obedient to the spirit of religious law, and put an end to the rage of partisan strife; and he relates a story which connects this visit with the period following the expulsion of the Pisistratidae about 510 B.C., though he draws no chronological inference from the story. Then after describing the immense effect produced by the visit of the Cretan seer, he resumes the narrative of intestine war, and describes how the old partisan bitterness continued as before. The account is self-contradictory. Plutarch has mixed together two narratives, one of the real Cretan, the other the erroneous creation of popular fancy about 100 years earlier. If we read Plutarch in the light of Plato, with Plato's date in our minds, and cut out the other tale, the narrative becomes luminous and self-consistent.

The Cretan belief in Epimenides, as a person whose "ingenuity does indeed far overleap the heads of all their great men" and as one of the outstanding personages in history, culminated in his apotheosis. He was regarded as "a divine man," and "a favourite of the gods," to whom they revealed the truth, and as "a new Koures" or god-priest teaching religious ritual. The Cretan worship of the deified Epimenides, taken in conjunction with the impression that he made on the Athenian people, is good evidence. To us the very phrase "the god Epimenides" savours of legend. To the early Greeks it was the proof of truth and national importance. Man became at death a god to his own circle of worshippers. The cult of Epimenides was common to a whole city. Brasidas was worshipped at Amphipolis by those whom he saved in 422 B.C.

An early tradition, mentioned by Aristotle and Plutarch, placed Epimenides among the Seven Wise Men. This alone would be proof of historical character. The Seven stand at the threshold of Hellenic history, figures of real importance when Hellenism was being worked into form. A place among the Seven in early tradition is a guarantee of historic reality, for the Seven are the expression of Hellenic fame and historical memory. The Seven all impressed themselves strongly on Greek national history, as distinguished from the politics of a single city; and they must be regarded as real personages of pan-Hellenic quality. Some Hellenes were revolted by the idea that the tyrant Periander should rank among the Seven, and preferred Epimenides in his place; this preference proves, and is founded upon, that general Hellenic respect and admiration which Plato attests.

Maximus of Tyre, a rhetorician of the second century after Christ, was certainly acquainted with Plato's allusions, and he read them in the same way :

> There came to Athens also another Cretan named Epimenides. . . . He was marvellously skilled in the things of God, so that he saved the city of the Athenians when it was perishing through pestilence and sedition ; and he was skilful in these matters, not because he had learned them, but, as he related, long sleep and a dream had been his inspiration . . . he had come into relations with the gods and the oracles of the gods and Truth and Justice.

The story of the 57 years' sleep arose out of the words in Epimenides' *Theogony* ; the expression of a poet was construed too literally ; and the number of years was fixed by creative fancy. Maximus twice refers to this passage, which doubtless occurred in the beginning of the poem.

The tradition is transmitted also through Aristotle, Plutarch, Strabo, Pausanias, and numerous later writers, chronologists and scholiasts, *e.g.* Suidas. Diogenes Laertius, upon whose work mainly depends our knowledge of the lives of the Greek philosophers, gives a fairly long account of Epimenides, and quotes the high authority of Timaeus and Theopompus, the dubious Myronianus, and Xenophanes, the oldest authority of all. Works of Epimenides are quoted by Aristotle and many later writers and scholiasts ; but all are condemned as spurious by some recent critics and their disciples, except only the *Theogony* and the *Cretica*, which they generally identify with one another and with the *Oracles*. If testimony of this order is to be set aside as insufficient, we may as well abandon the attempt to investigate Greek history.

The intermixture of myth with historical fact in the accounts of Epimenides has caused unjustifiable scepticism. The standard is set by Wilamowitz, the ablest and most forceful of German Greek scholars, who declares that Epimenides is a mere invention of political expediency, called into being in the passion of party strife during the sixth century. In a few sentences he dismisses Epimenides from the world of history, and places him in the world of political squabbling and falsehood. This theory has been widely accepted by recent German authorities. Just as one political party introduced the goddess herself into the strife, when she, in the guise of a tall Athenian girl wearing the sacred dress, brought back the tyrant to Athens, so (we are told) the same party invented an epiphany of an obscure local hero called Epimenides, a figure known only from the incidental reference of two or three scholiasts. But how could the great figure whom Plato described originate in that way through the projection into later history of a mythological name? It is as unreasonable to think that an invented Epimenides of 600 B.C. could become to Plato an eminent figure of yesterday as to maintain that the Eleusinian Mysteries, which won the respect of Isocrates and Cicero, were only a device of vulgar superstition.

The leading English scholars have almost invariably accepted Epimenides as a real person. There is something in the story which appeals to the English historic sense; English scholars would as soon discredit the story of Harmodios and Aristogeiton as that of the Cretan's visit to Athens. In this view history takes a different and evidently truer aspect. Under the Pisistratidae Athens grew from a small town into an important city; but in this too rapid increase it outgrew healthy conditions. The laws of sanitation, which the old religion had prescribed for small social groups, were quite inadequate for a large city. Athens was ripe for a pestilence; and, after the tyrants were expelled, the slackness and want of forethought which attended Athenian democracy aggravated the evils of city management, while party strife distracted attention. The result was as recorded by Maximus, Diogenes, and others; a plague struck the city.

In general, the ancient Hellenes were not deeply religious people. They looked upon religion as a matter of municipal pride and magnificence; they considered that an important function of the gods was to enhance social enjoyment; and they could rarely resist the temptation to make fun even of the most sacred matters. The Greek character remains still the same, not merely from persistence of stock, but from the geographical influences amid which they live. The same mixture of irreverence, carried sometimes to derision of religious ideas, combined with strict adherence to traditional rites, and occasional recurrence to mere superstition, characterises the people at the present day. In a country village near Epidauros, during the celebration of a marriage in the church, I have seen the officiating priest push the cup in order to spill the sacramental wine over the bridegroom's breast; and, when he was touching thrice in succession the heads of the bridal pair with the sacred book, he brought it down each time with a resounding thump on the head of the bridegroom, and the church rang with the laughter of the crowd. Yet, when the Hellenes are confronted with the scourge of plague, and death stares them in the face, religious awe revives.

Now it lay in the very nature of ancient religion to attribute all diseases, and especially fever (which was obscure in its origin and working), to the anger of the gods, provoked by some violation of the fundamental principles of religious law as revealed by divine kindness to men. Events in Athens followed the usual course, exemplified in many Anatolian records of confession and expiation. People began to examine their conscience and their history, to discover the reason of this visitation; and quickly recognised it. The old guilt remained unexpiated. The violation of the suppliant's right of sanctuary had hung over the people from generation to generation; and the goddess now at last was punishing the outrage. The descendants of the murderers had returned to office and were among the leaders of the State. Again, and now voluntarily, the guilty family went into exile; but this was not enough. Panic terrors seized upon the city, ghosts were seen, and the soothsayers declared that the pollution required special purificatory rites. Fuller expiation was needed to clear the people from guilt; but, where

Solon had failed, who should succeed? They must take refuge with the god (as Plato mentions), who alone could cure the sick State.

It was still customary to lay before the Oracle at Delphi the greatest matters of statesmanship as well as of religion; and this matter was not one merely of religion. The strength of Athens was sapped by the long partisan strife. The peril on the East from the growing power of Persia was looming before the mind of statesmen. Unity was imperative, and faction must cease in the presence of so many dangers. The god advised the Athenians to call in Epimenides, whose long life and theological writings, with his scientific and political knowledge, had made him a force in Hellenic development. He succeeded because he combined the old with the new religious sympathies. By ritual of the old type he satisfied the popular conscience, and washed their guilt away. By teaching new and higher conceptions of the divine nature and its relation to man he was a force in the development of the national mind. He made the step from the old to the new, understanding both and true to both.

It was necessary to convert public opinion to improved methods of sanitation; but nothing is more unpopular than health-restrictions. The British administration of India has experienced this difficulty. Similarly in Turkey a distinguished physician, who was called in forty years ago to advise about the spread of disease, reported that no remedy of any value could be reconciled with the social customs of the country. Epimenides convinced the popular mind, and raised the standard of conduct. He did not force on the people sanitary regulations; he appealed to old Graeco-Anatolian custom, which enforced principles of social organisation and sanitation as religious rites. Those principles formulated the self-protective ideals which grew in the collective experience of society and were revealed to her people by the goddess through her prophets and priests. The religion of the family was older than the organisation of the city and stronger than the State law (as Antigone pleaded). This family religion was not fitted to develop into the religion of the city; it remained apart from and inharmonious with the State; but it had to be subordinated to the convenience and safety of the organism. Hellenism regarded the individual as the member of a city; the sum of his rights and duties was the State religion; and Epimenides developed inchoate Athenian custom to suit the welfare and the sanitary law of the growing city.

He took a number of sheep, black and white, to the Hill of Ares, and there left them free to wander. Wherever any sheep lay down, an altar was built to the local god, known or unknown. The white sheep correspond to the bright deities of the Hellenic religion, and the black to the dark gods of the old order, connected with the world of death. He did not use this device in order to conciliate popular feeling by an appeal to superstition which he himself regarded as vulgar. He used it as being himself on that stage of religion. It was to him a right method of discovering the divine will, because it rested on the primary fact that the divine power is always striving to make men understand its wish and purpose, and men have only to look aright in order to discover the revelation. Further, he established various religious foundations, and erected images of the gods in the streets. His purpose was to impress on the Athenian mind the immediate presence of the divine nature in many manifestations, before which no impropriety is permitted and everything must be holy and pure. The purpose and consequence was a complete purification of the city and the institution of healthy rules of social life. The gods stood in the streets to protect and sanctify them. Citizens must live in the pervading presence of god.

The effect lasted until the Peloponnesian War, when the concentration of the population of Attica within the narrow walls broke through all order and discipline; and, as has often happened in wars, the relaxation of the rules of good life resulted in a terrible outbreak of plague, which enforced anew the rules of Epimenides.

Epimenides performed a work imposed upon him, as Plato says, by the Delphic Oracle, that co-ordinating power in Hellenic progress. Popular imagination was impressed by the religious side of his work; but this was only one part of his activity, and the best authorities from Plato onwards lay more stress upon the political and social consequences of his action. The man who could produce such effect at Athens must have been of high intellectual order, although he touched the popular heart by using ritual forms. His action calmed the fears and steadied the minds of the Athenians before the great invasion. From his visit tradition dates a new Athens, engaged in new problems and forgetting the old. Previously the parties in Athens had fought for partisan ends; henceforth for a time they followed national aims, though they advocated different means of attaining them. The political questions of the sixth century disappeared; the lines of party division were altered. To a great extent the change was due to the tremendous impact of the Persians, but the spirit and the measures of Epimenides co-operated; and it is only at the period assigned by Plato that his work is historically intelligible. An event that left such effect on national belief and conduct and ritual is no mere invention. The tradition bears the stamp of truth.

While the sympathy which Epimenides felt for the old religion enabled him to introduce his reforms, he lived in history as an innovator (according to Plato), as a creative reformer, and a maker of Hellenic city organisation. It is this side of his character that the sceptical critics miss. They see the "medicine-man," and they can see no other. That Epimenides belonged to the new as well as to the old is hid from them. Now if Epimenides was an apostle of Hellenism, there must be traces of the new ideas in his writings. Most of the quotations are scraps of genealogical or mythological stuff, such as was popular in Graeco-Roman society and formed a favourite subject of conversation at dinner-tables, but two brief references in Aristotle show the appreciation of a higher intellect. To him Epimenides was a philosophic interpreter of past history and a theoriser about the nature of society in that early stage when science was still half-poetic in expression. A group of persons living their life in common is called by Aristotle "a house," by Epimenides "those who have the same smoke,"[1] and by the Sicilian law-giver Charondas "those who have a common flour-bin." Popular legend expressed the vulgar conception of Epimenides' scientific investigations on such subjects by saying that he lived on food supplied by the Nymphs, which he kept in the hoof of an ox and ate secretly; hence he was troubled by no natural evacuation (a belief which caused in India the deification of a modern hero, not because he was a heroic soldier, but because he was non-natural). Plato describes those scientific investigations when he says that Epimenides perfected what Hesiod divined.

The bounds between medicine and religion were ill-defined; the crowd attached importance to the religious side and forgot the curative treatment. So at Epidauros the records of cure show how the popular mind loved the unscientific. Those records, dedications to the god by patients cured at the temple, contain no trace of medical science. It has been wrongly inferred from this that at Epidauros there was no real medical treatment; but the uneducated dedicators recorded only the god's beneficent care of themselves. The fact that a certain regimen was prescribed did not interest them; only dreams and religious facts appealed to their mind.

Epimenides, then, was a scientific investigator and a philosophical thinker. Roger Bacon, who stands in a similar relation to religion and philosophy and science, was also surrounded with popular legend; and Michael Scott was so in an even more marked degree. Bacon prided himself more on his theological disquisitions than on his scientific investigations. Perhaps Epimenides did not appreciate fully his historic position. His mission to Athens, undertaken by order of the Oracle, represents a step in the path towards Hellenic unity, which could be accomplished only through a common religious feeling. He investigated critically the nature of Delphian legend, interpreting the old religion, yet regarding it with the spirit of the Hellene who desired to understand what he believed. There was a proverb that in respect of things hidden and mysterious the "glance" (*δέργμα*) of Epimenides was needed; but that archaic and poetic word, natural in an ancient proverb, lost one letter and became the prosaic *δέρμα*, the "skin" of Epimenides. The fact that the name of the Cretan passed into a proverb adds something to the picture of his personality.

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[1] The word is altered by some modern critics; it ended a hexameter.

The Greeks had to live by their religion, not merely to talk about it like modern scholars (often with very faint conception of what religion is), and they saw in him a great religious figure; but his fame rested on a basis of knowledge and practical sense. He thought deeply about medicine and food and social science and the constitution of the family, and about the relation of all those subjects to the divine and nature, which was the main object of his study; and people said that he was a man beloved by the gods, and one to whom they revealed their knowledge. Various works whose title suggests philosophic or theosophic character are attributed to him, and condemned as forgeries by the German critics. But an opinion based on the assumption that he was unreal and invented needs revision, for his reality depends upon his position in the Hellenic world. He was real because he convinced the Hellenes.

This brings us to Prof. Rendel Harris's brilliant identification of an Epimenidean fragment in Syriac translation, which illuminates the personality of the Cretan; and it is due to Mrs. Gibson to acknowledge the scientific spirit in which she placed at Prof. Harris's disposal for publication the results of her work long before this had any chance of seeing the light. The only German critic that has written about Epimenides since Harris's discovery is Gressmann;

but none of those who regard the Cretan as an invention of political chicanery will accept as genuine a fragment of a philosophic poem which they have beforehand condemned as spurious.

In his letter to Titus in Crete, St. Paul quotes a line, "Cretans ever liars, noxious beasts, useless gluttons," from a Cretan poet, without naming him. Further, in his speech at Athens (delivered before an audience of Athenians, who crowded to hear an address from one whom they understood to be a candidate for recognition in the leading university of the world) he quotes from "your own poets" half a line of Aratus, and also a line, "in Him we live and move and exist," whose metrical character is disguised by transformation from the Ionic dialect to the Attic and from the second person to the third. The changes, needed to suit the address, show the Apostle's usual freedom. His words imply that he made at Athens quotations from different poets, although the plain meaning was disregarded by modern commentators, until Prof. Harris saw the truth:

> He is not far from each one of us, for "in Him we live and move, and have our being," as certain of your poets have said, "for we also are his offspring."

The orator, addressing an educated audience, presses into his service quotations from philosophic poetry which was familiar to society at that time and harmonious with its spirit. The second quotation is taken from Aratus. Who was the author of the first? The Syriac commentary of Ishodad distinguishes the two quotations thus:

> Paul takes both of these from certain heathen poets. Now about this, "In Him we live," etc., because the Cretans said as truth about Zeus, that he was a lord; he was lacerated by a wild boar and buried; and behold! his grave is known amongst us; so therefore Minos, son of Zeus, made an address of praise on behalf of his father; and he said in it:
>
> "The Cretans carved[1] a tomb for thee, O Holy and High!
> Liars, noxious beasts, idle gormandisers!

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[1] Mrs. Gibson has the present tense, but she wrote to me that the imperfect is used in the Syriac. I vary the expression used by her in some details, mainly to attain brevity in the sequel.

> For thou dost not die; ever thou livest and standest firm;
> For in thee we live, and are moved and exist."

So therefore the Blessed Paul took this sentence from "Minos"; for he took again "We are offspring of God," from Aratus, a poet, who wrote about God.

We have here four lines from an "address of praise" to the supreme god. The second is the line that St. Paul quotes in the Epistle to Titus. Clement of Alexandria declares that Epimenides wrote that line; and Jerome mentions that, although several previous commentators had attributed the verse to Callimachus, yet the real author was Epimenides, who was freely imitated by the later poet. Diogenes Laertius says that Epimenides "composed a work about Minos and Rhadamanthus, 4000 verses in length." Ishodad then quotes from Aratus, not merely Paul's five words, but the text of about ten lines; and, as the original Greek is preserved, we can here judge of the character of the Syriac rendering; and its faithfulness is a guarantee of the trustworthiness of the translation from the "Minos." It is easy to see why Ishodad, quoting from a poem called "Minos," attributes the words to Minos.

This Syriac commentator (as Harris declares) is wholly dependent on Theodore of Tarsus; and his words present to us, therefore, the teaching accepted in the Christian Schools of Asia Minor in the fourth century to the following effect (I combine the various sources). The Blessed Paul, surveying the religious monuments and institutions of the great centre of learning for the Greek world, was struck with the altar "to an unknown god," which rightly or wrongly he regarded as one of those raised in accordance with the instructions of Epimenides, and the connexion recalled to his mind a familiar passage of the Cretan poet, which he quoted in part to Titus. When he was required to address the Court of Areopagus, he took as his text the inscription on this altar and the lines in which Epimenides expressed his conviction about the Eternal God and His relation to man. This "unknown god" of the altar was at once a witness to the religious feeling hidden deep in the minds of the Athenians and a confession of ignorance of His true nature. Their own poets had taught truth regarding Him; but it remained for the modern teaching to reveal it fully.

Such is the plain and simple teaching of the fourth century, which is rejected by many critics because it runs directly in opposition to the opinions that they cherish. It implies that St. Paul wrote the Pastoral Epistles; it assumes that he was in Athens, and that he delivered a speech there which is reported briefly but faithfully in the Acts of the Apostles; but these assumptions are dismissed as false. Gressmann regards the four lines quoted by Ishodad as a fabrication in Christian interest. According to him there was no poem entitled "Minos," containing such a passage; there was only an allusion by Callimachus in his Hymn to Zeus, which was forged into a testimony to the truth of Pauline tradition, with the help of two quotations in pseudo-Pauline parts of the New Testament. This theory, however, is so artificial that it needs no detailed examination here, and I pass from it with only the criticism that in it there is neither reason nor even plausibility. If critics brush away the express statements of ancient learning, they can produce any result they desire; but a history of Greek literature must be founded on authority, and not on modern conjecture in defiance of ancient statements. While this passage of Callimachus resembles in part the lines quoted by Ishodad, it differs widely in spirit and in some details. No mere union of Callimachus with two quotations from the New Testament could produce those four lines; conscious forgery by Christian inventors has to be invoked.

There are only two hypotheses possible in a reasonable judgement. The first is that Ishodad's quotation came from a poem written in Hellenistic time, which purported to be the work of Epimenides but was really an exercise composed after his style in a school of rhetoric. Such exercises were frequently prescribed to pupils in the schools; and this artificial literature sometimes attained considerable excellence, though it rarely deceived the good ancient critics. It is an allowable hypothesis that a poem "Minos" had been composed in this way, and had acquired wide acceptance as the work of Epimenides, and that this poem was familiar both to Paul from early philosophic training at Tarsus and to his hearers at Athens; for he clearly counted on their familiarity with the work and the certainty that they would connect it with Epimenides, just as they connected the altar with his famous purification of the city.

The other hypothesis is that the "Minos" was written by Epimenides in later life, when his thought was developed in the Hellenic spirit. In either case the important fact is that this poem was accepted in Athens and in Tarsus as the work of the Cretan prophet. To decide between these alternatives is a matter of no importance for Pauline criticism, but of real importance in Greek history and literature. Do we feel in these lines the spirit of Hellenic philosophy about 500 B.C., or have we a fragment of a late rhetorical exercise in the name of the ancient philosopher? This question is decided by a glance at the passage of Callimachus, which shows the tone in which literature, about 270 B.C., spoke of the same religious facts. In the Hymn to Zeus (vv. 8-11), Callimachus says:

> They say that thou, O Zeus, wast born in [Cretan] Ida's mountains, and that thou wast born in Arcadia. Which, O Father, spoke falsely? The Cretans are always liars: and this we know, for thy tomb, O King, the Cretans fashioned; but thou didst not die, for thou existest always.

Compare the words of Callimachus with Epimenides. A hundred trains of thought open before the reader of the latter, and we here mention only one. Minos, the nominal speaker, reveals Epimenides describing his own experiences and life-work (just as Solon did in his poems). Part of his work was to do away the Oriental tone in the religious ritual of Crete (as at Athens), to restrain the enthusiastic devotion of the worshippers, and to substitute the Hellenic tone of moderation for the vehement passion of Oriental ritual. The poet saw the celebration year by year of a festival in which the god died his annual death, and was mourned with Oriental devotion and vehemence. Then the worshippers found that the god was not dead, but was rising again to life; and the tone of the festival changed from unrestrained mourning to unrestrained rejoicing, and concluded with a ritual banquet in which the emotional strain of the vehement mourning was followed by an exhibition of gluttony and drunkenness. The devotees were "noxious beasts" who lied about a dead god and mourned over his death, and feasted gluttonously in a rite which had no religious value.

Totally different is the spirit of Callimachus' lines. In the introduction to his Hymn he is speaking about traditional things. He is an antiquarian poet, not a religious reformer; he is not describing what he has seen; he is not filled with indignation against worshippers who are misconceiving and outraging the god; hence he tones down the indignation which boils in Epimenides' denunciation of Cretan falsehood, the supreme falsehood that the god died. The whole effect of the introduction to the Hymn depends on its appeal to older literature and to authority; and excellent authority asserts that what Callimachus knew was the passage of Epimenides which Paul quotes.

Paul could be confident that his Athenian auditors would understand the exordium of his speech and catch the reference to a famous incident in early Athenian history and the quotation from a Cretan poet who was closely connected with Athens. Epimenides places the reader in Crete. He sees before him the facts that he describes, and looks upon them in the spirit of a religious reformer, filled with indignation at what was done. A composition of a later age, bearing the name of the older poet, would not produce such an impression; these lines are a witness's testimony.[1]

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[1] The retranslation from Syriac into Greek, especially Mr. A. B. Cook's, prefers the tenses of Callimachus, and loses the directness of the witness.

To the older Graeco-Anatolian conception of the gods as living and dying with the life of the year there succeeded the developed conception of the Olympian gods as ever young and strong and beautiful. According to that older view the divine life was the prototype and model of human life in all its relations; just as man dies, so also the god dies; and, if the god dies, he has a grave to which he is annually consigned. In Epimenides the horror expresses itself with which Hellenism regarded such a hateful idea as the grave of god. "Thou dost not die; ever thou livest and art strong; for thou art the source and the basis and the strength of human life." This is the true spirit of Hellenism: We know that the high and holy one lives and is permanent, because we derive life and being from him; and we infer from our own consciousness that the god to whom we owe our life must be eternal and permanent, the living god. There is nothing here of the Semitic direct perception of the divine nature. The Hellene is conscious of himself, and infers from himself what is the nature of god. Further, the Cretans were religious liars, who deceived themselves annually in their vehement mourning for a dead god, and then found compensation in excessive enjoyment of food and drink.[1] Unrestrained ritual like this Epimenides detested; gorging with food and drink brings no religious gain.

This passage of Epimenides made a deep impression on Paul. It recurs to his memory in various circumstances. Writing to Crete he quotes this Cretan poet; when he thinks of the altar raised by Epimenides he quotes the same passage. He trusts to the Athenians recognising it as a striking sentence, which sums up in brief the purpose of the poem. There is one other place, where perhaps Paul remembered these words. In writing to the Corinthians (1, xi. 21 *seq.*) he rebukes them for making the assembly of God a place to eat and drink, and even to drink to intoxication. The thought is similar but there is no resemblance in the expression. Paul was in the last degree unlikely to intrude on the lofty plane of Christian thought expressed in that chapter any reference to pagan philosophical or religious literature; there was before his mind a picture of the scenes which were thought suitable at the pagan festivals, for every pagan brotherhood or society was united in the worship of some god, and each festival ended with a common meal where duty required and enjoined free indulgence; but Epimenides, who was in place at Athens, was out of place when Paul was writing to Corinthians about the nature of the Eucharist.

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[1] Prof. Harris holds that the food which was eaten was the raw flesh of a living victim, torn by the worshippers. But the theory that Greek worshippers about 500 B.C. ate such a meal is a mere fancy. Raw flesh at an annual rite would never tempt into gluttony people accustomed to live on cooked food, for it is distasteful. The word which St. Paul quotes describes admirably the Cretan festival, but is wholly unsuitable to raw flesh and a living victim.

CHAPTER IV

THE LAW OF LAND-OWNERSHIP IN WESTERN ASIA

In a country which was swept by conquering races in succession from the earliest times to the year A.D. 1071, and later by the rather ineffective Crusaders of 1098, 1146, and 1175,[1] some sort of arrangement was necessarily made between the older population and the new warrior-settlers. Already in the *Iliad* we read that Priam in his youth had fought against the Amazons on the banks of the Sangarios. This implies that an European people, entering Asia Minor across the great salt river called the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, had to fight against a native population cheered on or led by its priestesses and priests. By the victory was determined the limit between the older population and the immigrant conquerors.

It is, however, not to be supposed that the older people, where they were conquered, were exterminated. They were left unharmed after the battle was fought and the victory won. (1) They were the agricultural population, who knew the nature of the soil, whereas the immigrants were soldiers who had to learn how to use the soil, and their teachers were the older cultivators. The previously settled people knew when and how to plough and to sow. The time of reaping was evident, but the soldiers did not love to turn their spears into pruning-hooks, nor to stoop to the hard work of reaping. It was necessary, therefore, to employ the older inhabitants for this purpose; and these must be kept alive. They must retain part of their own soil and crops, or they must work a produce-sharing business. Perhaps both systems were employed.

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[1] The Crusaders were merely passers-by, who killed all that opposed them, but had no intention of conquering and possessing Asia Minor.

(2) The old religion and the old gods must not be outraged. They were powerful in their own country; and the new conquerors were obliged to reverence them in order to gain their favour. Religion is the key to the history of Asia.

(3) It is generally the case that soldiers coming into and over-running a new country have not with them enough of women: the soldiers had often to take wives from the older nations, and a more or less mixed race sprang up. The very stones of the land became men and women (as in the myth of Deucalion).[1]

(4) An almost more important factor lay in the government of the land. The conquerors formed the council of the king. This was specially the case at first; but with mixture of race and the superior acquisitiveness of the older people, familiar with the land, the council of the king tended to become mixed. The soldier-aristocracy could not keep itself pure and unmixed with the subject population. The abler men among the subjects pushed their way up.

The principle is implied in this religion that the land can be the property in absolute ownership of no human being.[2] This is expressed as usual in the sharpest and clearest form in the Old Testament. "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof" (Ps. xxiv. 1): the world is arranged as the expression of the will of God and of moral law, and in the obedience to this divine law lies the way of prosperity. The passage just quoted from Psalm xxiv. is quoted also by St. Paul in discussing the question as to whether meat sacrificed to idols should be eaten by Christians. Absolute ownership belongs to the gods alone. Possession and usufruct can belong to human beings, but are contingent upon their obedience to the law as laid down by the goddess, and as put in execution by the god, who sets an example to men of the right course of life and ritual. If a human possessor neglects his duty to the religion and the land, and allows it to remain useless through laziness or folly, his right to it lapses, and it reverts to the divine ownership, to be granted again to some other deserving possessor. The sinner can atone by public confession and expiation (which imply reform).[1]

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[1] Λᾶος stone, λαός people.

[2] Unused land and waste land is still regarded as No-man's Land (p. 11).

The strictness combined with the wonderful elasticity of this principle ensured its hold on human nature. Obedience to the law formed the atmosphere in which the people of the goddess were brought up from infancy. Their life from birth to death was hedged about with the law. They were trained in obedience to it, and they knew perfectly that prosperity and food, and even life itself, depended on obedience to the great principles. We learn the facts in various ways, partly from the confessions made publicly by sinners against the law, partly through the records of history or through the statements with regard to the enforcing of law, and the faults against the law which were usual. We find faults of personal purity, infractions of the law due to greed, or even to carelessness, as when, *e.g.*, a man takes wood from the sacred grove for his own private use, shifting of landmarks in order to increase possession at the expense of one's neighbour, and so on. But we learn of only the very slightest infraction of the agricultural law. It guards itself in this direction. You would as readily expect a farmer in the Lothians to postpone the planting of his potatoes until the season was past, as that an ancient possessor should violate the necessary law of agricultural seasons and the alternation of duties and festivals marking the great seasonal occasions of the agricultural year.

Possession therefore tended to become permanent. The family lived on a piece of land, and clung to it with the intense feeling of the peasant landowner. There is probably hardly any feeling stronger in guiding the conduct of the less educated population than this sense of possession due to confidence that the results of work will belong to the family. This feeling ensured full obedience to agricultural law.

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[1] Many of these confessions of sin are preserved.

The whole system is, as has already been remarked, based on the sense of security of tenure. As a man has ploughed, so shall he reap. But such feelings and facts are dependent on a state of peace, and cannot last when war and conquest endanger the situation. The invasion of conquering tribes was hostile to the law of the goddess. The conquerors seized part of the land. There existed a sort of international principle, if we may generalise from scattered references and examples, that the conqueror was entitled to take one-third, while two-thirds was left to the possession of the older population and to the ownership of the goddess, exercised through the priests and prophets of the sanctuary. The attitude of the conquerors to the law of the goddess was doubtful. On the one hand, they felt that the gods of the land must be respected and worshipped: on the other hand, they were not willing to lose all advantage from the conquest. In what form then did they hold the land which they had taken? Were they still only possessors and cultivators, or were they owners? If they were only possessors, then the law of the goddess required that they must make profitable use of the land, or it ceased to be theirs, and the advantages of conquest were lost. If, on the other hand, they became absolute owners of the land, the principle of divine law and of divine ownership could not be fulfilled. The law of the goddess was violated, and her wrath must follow.

Something of the process can be gathered from the remarkable inscription which was found engraved on the wall of the great temple of Cybele of Sardis, and which belongs to the closing years of the 4th century or the earliest years of the 3rd century B.C.[1]

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[1] Wilamowitz and other authorities would date this inscription later on account of the form of the letters. They bring it down to the 2nd century B.C. The arguments of Buckler with respect to the date, however, seem to me conclusive.

This inscription regulated the conduct of an estate belonging to the goddess, but taken in possession or in ownership by a soldier. It is obvious that the owner of such an estate, a soldier accustomed to spend his time in war, and trained to no agricultural administration, found that the possession of sufficient capital was indispensable in working his estate. He had to supply his quota to the management, and as he could not supply it in labour, he must supply it in cash, and only ready money would be accepted in the market. The only place, or at least the most advantageous place, where he could get money was the treasury of the goddess. It has long been recognised that the goddess acted as a steward, willing to take charge of deposits of money. A well-known example is often quoted from Xenophon. For thus taking charge she exacted a percentage, and thus the temple became a sort of banking institution.[1] The goddess lent the money to the owners of the estates on the

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The forms of the letters are not to be reasoned from so pragmatically, because it does not follow that the document was incised on the wall of the temple in the year when the arrangement which it records was made. Buckler and I were aware that the lettering was more probably of the 2nd century than of the period of about 300. When he showed me the inscription on the wall and in impression, and asked my opinion about the date, I replied that it seemed to me to be of the 2nd century, but the contents of the inscription were indubitably earlier, and we must suppose that for some reason the extreme importance of this document, as embodying general principles in the relation between the goddess and the owners of great estates, led to a subsequent engraving of it in the most conspicuous position on the wall of the temple, inside, where it would be completely sheltered from harm and accessible always as a record of divine law and of bargains between the goddess and men.

[1] I thought formerly that, with Buckler's aid, I had found an example in an inscription in North Galatia, inscribed not by a Gaul, but by one of the old Phrygian population, showing that the goddess lent money on articles pledged. "Statilia pledged with the priestess an emerald and two silver bracelets." But Rostovtsev has convinced me that the true reading is "gave in pledge to Tinis green wool and two bracelets" (Tini is dative of Tinis, gen. Tinios): *ἔδωκι Τινι ἐρέαν πράσινον*, not *ἰ* (for *ἰς*) *τὶν* (for *τὴν*) *ἱέρεαν* (for *ἱέρειαν*). See *J.H.S.*, 1918, p. 191, where this correction must be made.

security of the property. In this way the mutual arrangement between owner and cultivator was fulfilled.

When the owner, a soldier unused either to agriculture or to business, became a debtor to the religious bank of the goddess, his relation to the priests was seriously affected. He became now subject to the power of the temple, and ceased to enjoy real independence. Thus the situation became a very complicated one; the landowner was borrowing from the temple, and the cultivators had to produce sufficient return from the land to support their own families, and maintain the state and dignity of the landlord, and to pay the interest on the loan. This implies a very complex state of society. No other example occurs exactly similar to this case recorded in the temple at Sardis, but we know nothing about any of the other cases, and have to estimate the entire process which went on during the centuries from general principles, and the obvious facts and needs stated in the one typical case about which full information has survived.

That these great estates came into existence at a comparatively early period in the history of war is certain. The gigantic fortune of Pythios, the host of King Xerxes, whose tragic story is related by Herodotus,[1] must have been founded on the possession of great estates, and it is not impossible that certain land mentioned in the Sardian inscription just quoted derived its name from being the possession of the ancient Pythios.

The part which was played by the temples, that is to say, the great central sanctuaries which were the original landlords, was a somewhat delicate and difficult one during the period of conquest and of the formation of great private estates; but they had the power which is given by the possession of ready money, and that in the long run proved stronger than the sword. They retained their position and influence throughout the centuries preceding the Roman Conquest. One example is known with regard to the way in which an arrangement was concluded between conquerors and the temple. This was at Pessinus, where an inscription records that half the places in the sacred college of the priests were filled by the conquering Gauls, and the other half presumably were left to the old priestly families. We cannot take this single case as a rule that can be generalised literally. We find, however, that in the great sanctuary at Pisidian Antioch, the Emperor Augustus and his successors governed and owned the entire territory of the god, through a sort of religious fiction, viz. the identification of the god with the Emperor as his manifestation on earth. This is expressed by Strabo under the form that the priesthood was brought to an end, whereas the inscriptions show that the succession of priests did not cease, but that the worship of the sanctuary was maintained with even greater state than before, and that the procurator of the Emperor, who administered the estates for his imperial master, became *ex officio* the priest of the god. The entire process, therefore, stands out clear. That system of deification of the Emperor and identification of the Emperor with the local god proved the most convenient way for administering government. The Emperor was now the god, and the estates of the god belonged to the Emperor as his impersonation on earth. The Emperor, who could not be present on the estates, was represented by his procurator, and the procurator took the place which the successive priests of the old priestly families used to fill in the ritual and administration of the sanctuary. Each priest was for the time the representative of the god. The god was the original first priest, who showed the subjects of the sanctuary the ritual, and set the original example of the way to perform it in practical life. What Strabo, therefore, means when he says that the priesthood was brought to an end, is that the old system of priestly landlords was done away with, and that Roman officials took their place. The words of Strabo have been often mistranslated and misunderstood.

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[1] Herod. vii. 27 f. Pythios must have been one of the last conquering race, who possessed enormous property.

He does not mean "the priesthood was abolished," but "the system of hereditary priest-dynasts was shorn of its political power." This case has been recognised by Rostovtsev as typical.[1]

At Pessinus, as has been stated, a partition of the hieratic power according to numbers in a college or council of priests is formally attested during the second century B.C. On this analogy (*mutatis mutandis*) we must interpret the statement of Strabo xiv. 5. 10, p. 672, that the hieron at Olba in Cilicia Tracheia was founded by Ajax, Aiant-, *i.e.* Yavan, son of Teukros, *i.e.* Tarku, that the chief priest of the hieron was dynastes and lord of the whole Tracheiotic land, and that most of the priests were called either Ajax or Teukros. It was pointed out in *J.H.S.*, 1918, p. 131, that these two names represent respectively the sons of Yavan (the early Ionian settlers on the south coast) and the older race of Tarku (the worshippers and people of the Hittite and old Anatolian god Tarku). It is obvious that the genealogical relationship is the ancient expression of an agreement by which the hieratic power was divided between the older race of Tarku and the Ionian sailor-settlers; the moral and legal right was expressed in terms of family relationship;[2] the younger race Yavan was the son of Tarku, and Yavan was in turn succeeded by his son Tarku, and so on (with some exceptions, about which we have no information).

The history of this development in the law of landed property finds no parallel in Palestine. It was guarded against from early time by a remarkable regulation, which ensured the preservation of old rights. This was the principle of the Jubilee Year.

In the history of the Israelites we hear of no social revolutions or disturbances caused by the operation of debt due from the poor to the rich; we hear indeed about discontent. Debt is inevitable and discontent is inseparable from debt. Changes in the State occurred. One change was brought about by the recognition that greater unity in the nation was required than could be got through the administration by Judges, viz. the institution of kingship at the desire of the people.[1] There was an even more serious change in the constitution, when the land was divided through the revolt of a large part of the country against the cruel exactions and oppressions of the kings. An Asiatic people prefers a monarch to freedom, as many examples prove. The Israelites took possession of the land; and as history is presented to us, they, to a very large extent, destroyed or expelled the older population, and took entire possession, with revocable ownership and re-division. Such of the older population as remained seem to have been reduced to the status of serfs or slaves. The intention was conceived by the great lawgiver to maintain a system of peasant ownership and tribal mastery, and to guard against the formation of large estates through the operation of the law of debt, and the seizing of the property of the debtor by the more prudent and able of the community. It was not allowed to the possessor to sell or to part with the ownership of property permanently. Property must come back to the family every fiftieth year, and the selling of property was burdened with this condition. It has been maintained by almost unanimous foreign opinion, and by a considerable body of opinion in this country, which has been largely influenced by foreign scholarship, that the Jubilee system was a mere invention concocted at a very late period, and that it never came into actual operation. But there was some system whereby the amassing of great estates was prevented. Such a system is mentioned in Ezekiel xlvi. 17, and is implied in some obscure words in Ruth iv. 6.

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[1] An *arca sanctuaria*, a budget for the maintenance of the ritual and the priests, was instituted, doubtless by Augustus acting through his legate.

[2] If two peoples are neighbours and friends their racial ancestors are brothers, or father and son, according to circumstances.

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[1] Jehovah warned the people that, in desiring a king, they were rejecting Himself; and that the king would take their sons and their daughters and their lands.

Here some way in which a term was set to the transference of landed property, so that the transfer became inoperative after a certain period, is clearly implied as customary and in ordinary operation, and no other system of terminating the transference of property is mentioned except the Jubilee system. Ezekiel is, of course, a late witness, but he alludes to a term or limit which is accepted, and which cannot be supposed to have originated in any recent period, while the Book of Ruth is accepted almost universally as being an extremely early production. The reference in Numbers xxxvi. 4 can hardly be used, any more than the law itself as stated in Leviticus, because the antiquity of those books is contested by those who ridicule the idea that a Jubilee system ever existed as a real fact in social life. But, at least, this chapter of Numbers bears witness to the existence of a strong and universal feeling that the land of one tribe should not be suffered to be cut up and pass out of the tribe in parts through the marriage of women of one tribe with men of another. The story in 1 Kings xxi. about Naboth's vineyard, which King Ahab offered to purchase from him, bears witness to the intense attachment of the people to the principle that the inheritance of a family should remain in the family. Naboth refused, not on the ground that he individually was specially fond of this property, but on the ground that it would be unlawful and contrary to the will and command of God that he should give away or sell the family inheritance to any other person. It is noteworthy that Ahab, in telling what had happened to Queen Jezebel, does not state the case truly. He simply says that Naboth refused to give or sell the King his vineyard. The Queen, as a foreigner, did not know the feeling of the Hebrews on this point. She treated it as mere unreasonable churlishness, since the owner would neither accept another vineyard equally good in place of his own, nor the money value. To her there is no question of religion involved, but to Naboth the matter was clearly a question of the religious law. Whether Jezebel's intention would have been affected by knowledge of the real situation remains doubtful, but at least the story shows that she was misinformed with regard to Naboth's motives. A feeling like this is intensely strong, and grows stronger with the generations. There are few emotions which have affected the conduct of society more powerfully than the attachment to family property in land. The possessor for the time being regards himself, not merely as the owner of something which he is free to alienate, but as the trustee representing the interests of his family, and when one reads the facts of a story like this, one feels that those who discredit the existence of a Jubilee system regulating the transfer of land, and preventing it from being permanent, are bound to show reason why this feeling in the people never expressed itself in any regulation. The Mosaic system takes account of it and regulates it. There is nothing impossible in the carrying out of some system of this kind, as described in the Law. Those who ridicule this regulation as a somewhat fanciful invention of a late writer, never affecting the social structure of Hebrew history, are failing in what the historian must regard as a necessary condition of sound interpretation of historical records. They are not even attempting to explain how the old ideas of divine ownership, and the historical fact that tribes and families clung to their land as a religious institution, produced no effect in written regulation. The Jubilee principle may have come down to us in a form which is like some American laws, made to look well and symmetrical on the Statute Book. It may, perhaps, be elaborated in a more official form according to certain numerical principles, but that something of the kind did exist seems beyond a doubt. If it was not incorporated in the Mosaic Law by Moses, this can only have been due to the fact that it was so deeply rooted in the heart and conduct of the people as to require no formal re-enactment at that time. But the writer feels no doubt that the principle was adopted from the old national feeling by Moses, and made into a legal statute.

We should be glad to know, and probably there is some evidence bearing on this point, whether the ownership which is spoken of was possession or absolute dominion. As we have seen, the old system contemplated by the religion and usage of Anatolia permitted only possession, and made the possession contingent on actual use, and in that country the introduction of dominion in land was due to foreign conquest. The Israelites came into possession of Palestine by conquest. The question arises, whether they regarded either tribal ownership or the family ownership as being of the nature of absolute dominion, or only of possession, while the ownership belonged to Jehovah. The expression above quoted from Ps. xxiv. is only a reaffirmation of the general principle in Exodus xix. 5, "All the earth is mine," and confirmed again in Deut. x. 14. But its expression is couched in a form so general that it is hardly convincing with regard to ownership of the land of Palestine, and I am not aware of any regulation making the possession either by tribe or family of land contingent upon actual use. It may perhaps have been assumed that the family would without doubt use its property and obey the divine law, but the whole question is not free from difficulty.

Another form of joint possession of the fruits of labour was also practised, viz. that the conquerors became landlords, and their lands were cultivated by the older population as resident labourers; these labourers were not slaves, but free, and their remuneration was a share of the produce. There is no evidence as to proportion customary in Anatolia in sharing the harvest; but there lies at the basis of the system the principle of the Idia (*ἡ ἰδία, τὰ ἴδια*[1]), viz. that the cultivator was bound to reside and work on the land owned by the conquering owners, and was not permitted to migrate and to leave the land uncultivated. Such a system of joint possession and profit-sharing is undoubtedly implied in the situation, but details are as yet a matter of investigation and conjecture. There was certainly no rigidly fixed law, giving the proprietor a right to the work of the cultivator, and power to detain the cultivator and force him to labour. In fact, law was still merely inchoate, and tribunals for enforcing law hardly existed. It was largely a matter of custom, and was enforced only by the general agreement on all sides that this system, as it existed, should be observed. The new generation of labourers and of owners grew up in the system, and lived according to it in an easy-going fashion, which admitted and connived at exceptions. A certain looseness suited human nature; exceptional individuals broke away from the common practice; and, so long as these were only occasional and rare, the custom remained and was generally accepted.

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[1] The tribal chief, or the god speaking through his prophets and priests, gave judgement according to the custom of the country and the general sense of justice (Dika, not the later abstraction Dikaiosyne).

Moreover, the hieratic and theocratic order continued powerful in its new form, as shared between the old priestly families and the conquerors; and it enjoined the system of resident labour and sharing produce as a religious duty. The god approved the custom; but enforcing was left to the divine lord.[1] Where exceptional individuals broke away from the custom, they had to accept the penalty; and punishment came sooner or later in the form of fever, or bodily accident or misfortune. The sufferer recognised that his sin had been the cause of his suffering, and commonly he sought to appease the god, confessing his sin and making atonement. As the common use of writing spread among the rustics,[2] these "Confessions" were often displayed on stelae so that all might read and take warning by them. In the confessions that have survived, the recording stele is called Exonplarion or Exoprareion (Latin *exemplar*), which shows that the custom of publication by writing on a stone displayed to general view did not become usual until the Roman period, and therefore acquired a Latin name. Moreover, this habit began early in the Roman period, before the idea of enforcing the use of Latin had been abandoned in the Anatolian provinces, and before Greek had been accepted by the Roman organisation of government as the language of the social organisation. The facts, therefore, prove that the publication began to be customary about or shortly after the reign of Augustus in those regions where this Latin name was employed.

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[1] The sanction is stated clearly in L.W. 668. The hieros doumos, assembly in the holy mansion, orders a vow (εὐχή) to be observed for nine days: if any one shall disobey, he shall learn the powers of the god.

[2] The "common use" of writing is, of course, different from the knowledge of writing. The knowledge of writing is very ancient, much more ancient than is generally supposed; but it was probably restricted to certain educated classes and to hieratic purposes, *e.g.* sepulchral inscriptions. The confessions above named approximate to legal documents, as did the epitaphs also in the Roman period in Anatolia.

CHAPTER V

NEMESIS AND JUSTICE

THE two Nemeseis, who are the characteristic deities of Smyrna on coins and in legend, are indubitably a moralised expression of the remarkable twin peaks which stand close together on the south coast of the Gulf of Smyrna, a few miles west of the city. When I used to know Smyrna, fifty years ago or more, the older inhabitants used always to look at the "Two Brothers," as the twin peaks are called, to find signs of the weather. The belief still was held, and is probably justified by atmospheric effects, that the intentions of the god who resides in the upper regions of the ether are mirrored in the terrestrial phenomena on the chosen peaks. They appeared to Alexander in a vision to intimate the will of Zeus. There is no mountain-deity so characteristic of the coins of any city in Anatolia as are the two Nemeseis of Smyrna, except Mt. Viaros of Prostanna and Mt. Argaeus of Caesarea of Cappadocia; and they are all equally impressive in the local scenery.

It may be inferred that the terrestrial image of a single Nemesis was a sharp peak which lifts itself up to the sky as if to appeal to the god and to draw down his just interposition and his vengeance. The duplication of the divine idea is made on earth where the earth shows the twin forms. So the original single Muse became the nine Muses, as the literary art differentiated itself into separate arts. The single Grace became triple, because the sculptural form of the three Graces presented an alluring type to the sculptor. And so on in many cases, like the two Nemeseis.

Nemesis, as a single deity, often represents Smyrna on "alliance" coins. "Alliance" doubtless indicates some agreement as to participation in games or religious rites: Nemesis is the single idea; twin Nemeseis the local presentation of the same idea; so at Laodicea and Smyrna. It is not within my power to trace this idea in every case. Rhamnus I have never seen, but it stands at a promontory where the long ridge of Parnes protrudes into the sea. I was not on the outlook for any local presentation at Synaos, at Dorylaion, or at Synnada; but in the latter case the city is ringed round by mountains; so too with Cibyra. At Hierapolis and at Laodicea on the Lycus, the great single peak of Baba-Dagh (father-mountain) is specially conspicuous; and a pilgrim who wrote an account of the third Crusade under Barbarossa mentions that the army came to Laodicea under a lofty peak. At Amorium the lofty peak of Sivri-Hissar stands up towards the sky, visible from a great distance over the level plain.

In many cases Nemesis is not the characteristic type, but only an occasional one. The most representative type of Laodicea is Zeus, of Hierapolis Sarapis, and so on. But in the mountain-view one single peak stands out as a solitary finger pointing to and invoking the supreme god in heaven. Sivri-Dagh, "pointed mountain," is perhaps visible from Laodicea; but it is insignificant in comparison with Baba. Twin Nemeseis appear on coins of Synaos, which I have not seen since 1884. But at Dionysopolis with its Nemesis I well remember in 1883 how Baba-Dagh was everywhere conspicuous, across a raised mountain and beyond the deep glen of the Lycus. Sterrett and I often remarked how we seemed unable to get out of sight of the great peak, 8000 feet above sea-level. We also spoke of Chonas-Dagh at some distance to the east of Baba. Long afterwards I began to see that in the Anatolian mind the earth is a humble and very imperfect picture of heaven with its signs, the Bear, the Twins, Orion the Hunter, and all the others. Plato makes Socrates, in the *Republic*, after finishing his picture of the ideal state, say in reply to the question whether such a state has ever existed: "In heaven, I fancy, a model (of it) is laid up for him who will to see, and as he sees to establish himself as a settler; but it makes no difference whether it exists or shall exist anywhere (on earth), for he will do what is suited to this model-state only, and not what belongs to any other."[1]

Again the idea of justice, called Dika or Gdika (with that insertion of a guttural sound before a dental which was so frequent in Anatolia in names of persons and places), was symbolised by what may be called the Balance, *i.e.* two peaks at some distance from one another, which seemed to resemble the Divine Balance held out in the skies to weigh the fate of men and heroes. Zeus is so described by Homer as hanging out the Divine Balance to determine which of two heroes shall be the conqueror in their fight.

The best example of the Balance is at Konia, the ancient Iconium, where twin peaks at some distance from one another are still called Takali, and in Arab authorities Dakalias, evidently identical with, and perhaps giving origin to, the (Semitic?) word Tekel, which is familiar to every one in the Book of Daniel and the story of King Belshazzar.[2] The two peaks are now called by the Greeks St. Philip and St. Thekla. Thekla, originally Tekla, was the spirit of the mountains; and the exact place where the mountain opened to receive her, when robbers attacked her or her betrothed lover sought to force her into a marriage-by-capture (an old trait in society), are varying features of the legend. The early Christians took the legend and worked it into a non-orthodox form, in which abstinence from marriage, even after a promise had been given, was a feature. Then the orthodox took over the native legend, and tried to gloss over the unorthodox features; and Thekla remains one of the most widely respected Eastern saints.

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[1] I quote from memory; but I think this is correct: end of Book ix.

[2] Daniel interpreted the writing on the wall; the third word was Tekel, "Thou art weighed in the balance and art found wanting."

Another example of the Balance is at the modern Afiom-Kara-Hissar, two miles or so fróm the site of the ancient Prymnessos. Any one who has been on the outlook for the sites of the intertribal and international markets can feel no doubt that the plain a little north of Prymnessos was the meeting-place of one of those markets. Its situation and its relation to the country and the lines of the roads make this practically certain. Now from the mountains south of Kara-Hissar there runs out a line of volcanic peaks, diminishing in size according to their distance from the main mass of mountains. These are thrust up through the limestone plateau which forms the main mass of Anatolia. Though they diminish, yet I have observed a point from which the two highest can be seen to resemble one another, and to symbolise to man the Divine Justice and the Divine Balance. Here the god has planted the sign which indicates the just dealing which is necessary between merchants engaged in the market. Similarly, the probability is, from the history of Iconium, that before it became a Hellenistic city it also was a natural centre where an intertribal market met. The coins of Prymnessos express this symbolically; the chief type is the goddess Dike (called Dikaiosyne by the numismatists), enthroned on a lofty seat, or standing holding forth the Balance. This Prymnessian goddess was simply the moralised form of Cybele, to whom the power and the duty belonged to keep the market fair and just and safe for traders.

At Laodicea, at Dionysopolis, and among the Hyrgaleis, the choice is given, among the imperfect terrestrial traits of the heavenly symbolism, between Dika and Nemesis. There are the one peak of Baba, and the two peaks of Baba and Chonas. At Laodicea we find, in one coin, the mixture of the two goddesses in one, as a figure who holds both the balance of Justice and the measuring rod of Nemesis. At Dionysopolis there is known only Nemesis; among the Hyrgaleis, side by side with Dionysopolis, there is only Dika. I have been for years trying to find the opportunity of revisiting this region to see whether the difference corresponds to the landscape as seen from each of the two districts.

The two ideas, Dike and Nemesis, are closely related. Nemesis calls for Justice, Justice inflicts Nemesis. They are both attributes of the supreme divine power: "the (nameless) God, or the Goddess still without a name," of Asia Minor in its original character. The Greeks introduced names for the gods, learning from the Egyptians (as Herodotus says) this fashion. It is an unfortunate error, confounding the history of religion, to treat "the God" of the Anatolian plateau as a mere equivalent of the Greek Zeus. The "nameless God" is a deity; the Zeus of the Greeks is almost a superman, with all the vices and weaknesses of men, a figure half-way above man and half-way or more below a god.

Probably the most noteworthy appearance of Nemesis is at Attoudda, a Carian or Phrygian town situated two miles or so to the south of Serai-Keui, a railway station. Behind it towers the lofty peak of Baba-Dagh (Father Mountain), and it belongs to a group of cities, all situated around the range of Mount Salbakos, over the centre of which towers the great Father Mountain (8000 feet). Assar or Hissar is the name of the site. On coins of Attoudda appears Nemesis. It has already been pointed out that Nemesis is only a moralised form of Cybele; and in this group of cities, including also Trapezopolis and Laodicea, Cybele is not merely styled the great goddess (as usually in Phrygia), but at Attoudda there was a Priest of the Goddess Mother Adrastos (from whom there is no escape). This goddess is evidently the same as Nemesis, the divine power which always exacts the penalty for any violation of fair dealing and justice: sooner or later, Adrastos the Mother overtakes the fugitive; yet as the Mother Goddess she is as evidently Cybele.

This whole region, for about 30 miles up and down the Maeander and the Lycus, is full of hot springs which rise at many places, and there is also a pond of hot mud. Laodicea was the site of a famous medical school;[1] and Attoudda, which is situated near the middle of the region, shared in the honour and profit of these curative agencies. Aesculapius and Hygieia appear often on the coins of Attoudda; the coins picture the natural features of the country, not in the way of scenery (though in certain cities that was done), but in the form of the spiritual powers and divine beings which revealed for the benefit of men the kindly and guiding, advising and punishing power of Mother Earth.

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[1] Its professors and teachers are mentioned on Laodicean coins.

CHAPTER VI

THE TWO VULTURES AT THE GATE OF TROY

PROFESSOR JOHN A. SCOTT'S *Unity of Homer* I have read with deep interest and with general agreement, but there are certain points in which he too easily accepts as true to nature the Homeric picture as commonly translated. It may be asked whether the common translation should not sometimes be revised in the light of closer familiarity with the land. One example may here be given where re-translation is wanted.

Professor Scott (Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois) on his p. 127 cites as an illustration of Homer's truth to the character of the country (*i.e.* of Anatolia) the description of the vultures as found in *Odyssey* xxii. 302.

The translation of Butcher and Lang may be quoted as representing the currently accepted interpretation :

> The others set on like vultures of crooked claws and curved beak, that come forth from the mountains and dash upon smaller birds, and these scour low in the plain, stooping in terror from the clouds, while the vultures pounce on them and slay them, and there is no help nor way of flight, and men are glad at the sport.

This simile is in several respects utterly untrue to the land and its bird life.

The picture does not in any way suit the vulture, a foul, hideous bird, tearing the flesh of the dead or dying and quite helpless men or animals. The vulture circles at a great height in the air, and swoops down with inconceivable rapidity from his lofty flight, sits near the corpse or the dying, approaches gradually, and when satisfied that the body is incapable of motion, and that all is safe and no resistance need be dreaded; begins to tear the corpse. In doing so the carrion-feeding bird presents the most hideous gory appearance. Meanwhile other vultures, which have in their lofty circling flight marked the descent of the first vulture, pounce down also and congregate round or on the prey. In modern times a camel or horse or donkey is the most common prey. Any man that dies by the road is buried by his friends without an hour's delay; but beasts of burden are left to lie where they fall.

The vultures never attack or feed on small birds, and the small birds have no terror of them, but will go near them in search of their own special food. Such is the truth of the Aegean world and of Anatolia in particular.

Vultures feed wholly on carrion, and no man, not even a low-class Greek, could look at them with delight: the common modern Greeks of Anatolia find amusement in horrible things, but not in a vulture, whose look is loathsome and food appalling, as he covers himself with blood.

It must be inferred that the poet who thinks he has seen vultures rush at smaller birds has never looked at nature. Accordingly the only possible reason of this simile must be that Homer has in mind a different class of *accipitres*. The word "aigypios," which Homer uses, does not mean vulture, but some other bird, which pounces on living prey, and is a terror to smaller birds. As bearing on this, it may be recalled that the ancients were not extremely accurate in their description of certain aspects of natural life. For example, in colours and the like the range of Greek words is very inadequate to the variety of nature; although "wine-coloured sea" is literally true and very characteristic of the Aegean. At sunset calm, when the north wind has died down and the south wind has not begun, the sea assumes much the appearance and colour of dark thick Samian wine.

The description of the "vulture" in the *Odyssey* is otherwise far from true either to the common vulture or to the smaller Egyptian vulture, which is also often seen.

Again, it is not very correct to speak of the small birds as "stooping in terror from the clouds." Small birds do not fly high; they cannot get food there, and the life of the bird is spent in a ceaseless search for food; that is the case with most animals, except those that gorge themselves and then lie, satiated and sleepy, for a time.

In the third place, we notice that vultures do not, as a rule, "come forth from the mountains." My son found a vulture's nest and eggs on a ledge of a high perpendicular rock in Lycaonia; but the vultures fly among the clouds of the sky, or rather in the clear lofty sky: the champion of Homer might almost justifiably, perhaps, take "from the clouds" out of the next line, and substitute it here for the words "from the mountains," placing the small birds on the mountain side, and the vultures in the clouds. But the vultures love the clear sky which permits wide range of vision. They cannot descry their prey if they are among or above the clouds. To be above the clouds and work down on a sea of vapour is an interesting and beautiful experience for men; but it has no charms for the vulture.

Ameis tries to defend this expression by quoting *Odyssey* xix. 538, where Penelope relates her dream:

> Twenty geese I have in the house that eat wheat out of the water-trough, and it gladdens me to look on them. Now a great eagle of crooked beak came forth from the mountain, and brake all their necks and slew them; and they lay strewn in a heap in the halls, while he was borne aloft to the bright air.

In passing we note that the water-trough would not contain wheat; and would not be "in the halls" (as in the translation): the trough would be in the courtyard, and the wheat would be scattered near it, so that the geese could have food and water near each other in a courtyard open to the air, and that this was the case appears in the sequel. Penelope waked, and looked about and beheld the geese in the court devouring the wheat by the trough. The translators have rightly varied the expression, though the Greek does not exactly suit the variation. The word "megaron" was literally a covered place; but it may justifiably be taken in the wide sense of the whole palace, with covered rooms and open court: so that Penelope, when she peeped out from her chamber after wakening, saw the geese feeding in the court, as they had been doing before she slept. The court is a part of the family home, as it is at the present day; and in this sense the geese were kept "in the house."

This description is quite true; but it applies to the eagle, not to the vulture, and does not defend the use of the phrase "vulture from the mountains." The eagle strikes living prey.

Penelope, further, was evidently used to the sight of a mountain, one special mountain in her island home. In the general description of the vultures, which applies to a great country, they might come "from the mountains." In Penelope's dream the eagle comes "from the mountain." This may stand in some relation to the question about the geographical meaning of the name Ithaca, and the situation of the palace of Ulysses.

Instead of vultures, Homer's simile applies exactly to such birds of prey as the falcon or hawk or sparrow-hawk. These do exactly what the poet makes the "vultures" do.

A French scholar, Autran, who has done much for the elucidation of Anatolian words borrowed in the Greek language, offers a striking confirmation of our view. He does not refer to Homer's simile above quoted, but his exposition proves completely the accuracy of the poet's description of the Aigypios in Anatolia. In that country, and in Central Asia, the "aigypios" is the Vedic rjipya, the divine falcon, which sits on the tree of life, wherein are remedies for all kinds of sickness and malady. In this Vedic bird's name,

-pya corresponds to -pios : r has the semi-vocalic value represented exactly by the Anatolian "r," and thus "rji" becomes "aigy" in the Greek spelling.

As in Asia, so in Homer, this was the holy bird, a species of hawk, not a loathsome vulture, but a true swooping bird, which by its sudden pounce from the sky or from a tree terrifies and scatters the small birds which are its prey. In the lowest stratum under the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, there was found an image of the goddess, clasping to her breast two hawks or falcons in her two arms. They are her sacred birds. This image carries us back to an extremely remote period of the religious history of Asia Minor, a period before temples and personal names for the deities were known, when people spoke (as they did often throughout the Roman period) of "the god" or "the goddess" without any special name. According to Herodotus this custom of applying personal names to the gods or goddesses was derived by the Greeks from the Egyptians.

There is a remarkable passage in the *Iliad*, vii. 59, where the goddess Athena, seeing her own beloved Greeks being slain by Hector and Paris, descended in fierce anger and anxiety from Olympus to the plain of Troy. Apollo, who favoured the Trojans, marked her flight, and shot down as swiftly from the highest tower of Troy,

> Radiant they met beneath the beechen shade,
> When thus Apollo to the blue-eyed maid.

The goddess and the god agree to arrange an armistice by means of single combat between the bravest Trojan and the bravest Greek champion. The prophet and seer of Troy, Helenus, was inspired by their unspoken counsel ; he knew their mind and spoke to Hector, the Trojan hero, suggesting that he should challenge the boldest of the Greeks "to mortal combat on the listed plain," prophesying that Hector was not doomed to perish this day. Hector's bold challenge, which does not seem to us so bold when he knew that he was safe, was accepted (after some delay, and a good deal of mutual reproach, and a long lecture from old Nestor, who related a story drawn from his youthful experience) by nine volunteer champions from among the Greek heroes. The choice was made by lot, and the lot fell on Ajax. The combat was ended, undecided, by nightfall.[1] Meanwhile Athena and Apollo—

> With silent joy the settling posts survey;
> In form of vultures, on the beech's height
> They sit concealed, and wait the future fight.

The gods in the form of two hideous repulsive vultures! The very thought is abhorrent. On the lofty tree by the Scaean Gate, overlooking the two armies with their weapons lowered, the gods sat in form like two birds, hawks and not obscene vultures, as we conclude, pleased with men and with the prospect of peace, or rather of an armistice (not so enjoyable, either in A.D. 1919 or in 1194 B.C.).

The birds were evidently such birds as would naturally perch on a tree by the busy Scaean Gate. They were sacred birds, too; not mere sparrows or starlings. This is a picture of heavenly peace and joy: the birds are like the Vedic sacred rjipya sitting on the sacred tree of life. I have never seen a vulture in all Anatolia sitting on a tree; but hawks sit thus regularly. The opposing hosts in Homer sit on the ground quietly. Everything speaks of peace and joy. The picture is true to life and to the land and to religious belief. This is, evidently, a very ancient idea, Asian and pre-Hellenic. Then how does it find its way into the *Iliad?* How did Homer come to use it? Evidently, it is not historically true: the gods and their action in Homer are part of the growth of tradition and legend, during the three or four centuries that elapsed between the war of Troy and the time of Homer. Greek myth-making fancy was busily at work all the time whether in prose legendary history or in poetry.

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[1] It had been much to Hector's disadvantage.

Then one great poet gathered up this floating legend into his own mind, and poured it forth in two of the greatest poems of the world.

In this last case we can see the origin of the myth. It is a religious picture, which had its home in Asia. It was caught up by Homer and worked into the *Iliad*, so as to afford a rest and an interval during the long tale of war. It is like the knocking at the gate and the Porter's scene in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, a pause between horrors, calling off the spectator's or the reader's mind from the strain of the tragedy's progress.

This rarity of reference to the ugly vulture is a Hellenic feature. The ugly things take place, like murders in the Drama, "off the stage." Death is carefully hidden from view as a rule. Dogs are far oftener mentioned; but frequently in a good sense. Dogs are not ugly like the vulture, though in modern times they are dangerous, and their good qualities are much neglected; it is typical of Homer that he often shows appreciation of the dog.

Perhaps the reason of the persistent tradition that Homer was blind, is that he described events which he never saw; and this is symbolically expressed as due to his blindness. There is some analogy between this and the words which describe Ulysses as invisible: "he was enveloped in a cloud." Literally, the spectacle of a cloud making its way through the streets of the city of Alcinoös would be certain to attract universal attention; but the words are only a method of expressing that he was unseen and invisible (made so by the goddess to protect him from the people).

One of the most remarkable things about the *Iliad* is the rarity of references to the vulture. Heroes talk boastfully and vaguely about giving the bodies of opposing heroes to the dogs and the vultures. A feature of the long war of Troy must have been the dogs and vultures which were tearing the bodies of dead warriors, both Greek and Trojan; then the vulture is called not Aigypios, but Gyps. When heroes were slain, doubtless their bodies were carried away and buried or cremated; but the thousands of common men that perished were far too numerous to attend to. In the *Iliad* only five references to the Gyps are quoted. In the *Odyssey*, where there is far less occasion to mention the vulture, two references occur; and one of these is mythological. Tityos, who had offered insult to Leto, is seen in the world of death by Ulysses. His gigantic body is stretched on the ground and two vultures tear his flesh, "sitting one on each side, plunging their beaks in his body, and he was making no attempt to ward them off with his hands." They were eating the flesh of a living but helpless man, otherwise dead men's bodies are their prey.

There are probably only two vultures in the world which do not feed on carrion exclusively, and they visit a temple in Madras every forenoon to be fed. This I learn from a remarkable narrative published by a correspondent in some newspaper, probably *The Times*, certainly a London daily, 24th April, I think in the year 1920.[1] It is a marvellous phenomenon, and it shows how far the taming of wild animals has been carried in Asia. I have often expressed the conjecture that the domestication of animals was originated in Asia, and has thence spread westwards. Even such a surly and ill-tempered animal as the camel has been trained to the use of man.

I take the liberty of quoting from that old newspaper the following extraordinary account, being unable to ask permission through ignorance of the source.

> My goal was Tirukalikunram and the temple of Vedagiriswara, on the road that leads from Chingleput to Mahabalipuram (Tamil, being an agglutinative language, can produce even longer place-names than these), where I had been assured that two mysterious birds, variously described as eagles, kites, or vultures, had been for centuries in the habit of flying down every forenoon to be fed by the temple priest, after which they mysteriously disappeared till next luncheon time.
>
> Birds delight and miracles interest me. My companion on the journey,

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[1] I have only the cutting with no date, but from events mentioned on the back 1920 is probably the date, and cablegrams dated 23rd April, at Geneva and at New York, fix the issue at 24th April.

who kindly piloted me to the temple, knew more than most Europeans about Madras and its antiquities. The car ran well, the road was generally excellent, and rather to my surprise—I had been reading about the "barbarous and repulsive" Dravidian in a somewhat dogmatic ethnological work—the non-Aryans on the roadside were more cleanly if more scantily clothed than the "Aryan" peasants whom I had seen in Bengal and the United Provinces, quite as good-looking, and much more cheerful and friendly.

I will not describe the run to the polysyllabic village in detail. Enough that the hinterland of Madras City, with its groves of coco-nut palms, its rice fields, vividly green, its rows of shade trees, often bearing scarlet or golden-orange flowers, along the roadsides, and its strange, steep, isolated, red hills, has a charm and character of its own, and that the multitudes of small, humped cattle, of comically smooth and leggy goats, of long-horned buffaloes, and of greyhound pigs, herded by grinning tousle-headed Pariahs, if they gave us some anxious moments, did not come into collision with the motor car.

Tirukalikunram lives mainly on the pilgrims who visit the temple of Shiva, where the sacred birds are fed, and where, according to certain pundits, the four Vedas (the Holy Books of Hinduism) worshipped the gods. Hence the name Vedagiri (Veda Hill) given to the pinnacle whereon the temple stands. How the Sacred Books became, so to speak, personified, is not clear, but nothing daunts the Hindu theologian. But the village has other attractions. It is full of Brahmins; it has a fine temple of the usual over-decorated South Indian type, and three tanks, in the largest of which stands an island shrine.

This tank is the famous Shanku Thirtham, the green water of which is reputed to cure every sort of malady. Every twelfth year the Brahmins discover in it a conch shell turned to the right instead of to the left, as one might discover a pearl oyster in the Serpentine, a phenomenon which portends the maximum of prosperity and happiness and would seem to deserve the attention of a competent naturalist.

I did not bathe in the tank, but toiled up the steps that lead to the temple of the vultures. They are numerous and steep; beside them stand rough granite pillars; a thick scrub interspersed with boulders borders the path, and up it you climb and climb till you reach the temple dedicated to Shiva. Below the temple door are two little platforms. From the upper one we looked down upon the village, 500 ft. below, and the strange landscape, green plainland dotted with steep scattered hills on every side.

The door of the temple was still closed and few pilgrims had yet arrived at the hilltop. Among these, however, was the only ill-mannered Indian whom we encountered during the day, a Hindu from the north, who wore a Gandhi cap and replied rudely or not at all to my companion's very courteous questions. So malignant were his glances that I found myself making the sign against the evil eye when I looked at him.

Other pilgrims began to arrive, first Brahmin women, clad in red and gold, then women of lower caste carrying begging calabashes or metal bowls, a pleasant Babu from Central India, some Sannyasis dressed in loincloths, some peasants leading their children dressed in bits of string, several undistinguished individuals, and, among the last to arrive, an old fiercely moustached Mahratta gentleman accompanied by his obviously devoted wife and a Moslem servant wearing a red fez. The old man was barefoot and bareheaded for all that the sun beat fiercely on his bald crown. All talked gaily together and the beggars begged incessantly—and successfully. A holy man garlanded my companion and myself with roses and received his rupee. A musician with a bamboo flute next played to us, to the accompaniment of a bagpipe-like drone which a small boy extracted from a strange wooden instrument. There seemed nothing particularly Indian in the flautist's strains, and presently we realised he was not playing a Dravidian hymn but a most original rendering of "Bonnie Dundee."

Shortly before 10 the first vulture had flown over the temple to the great content of the pilgrims. A young woman, who seemed anxious to make something out of her mythological learning, informed us that twice of late years Indra had visited the temple, doubtless to pay his respects to Shiva, in the form of a thunderbolt. The temple was struck by lightning in 1889 and 1901, which explains this picturesque tale of the visit of the Storm god.

Then the temple door was opened and the pilgrims crowded in to chant and pray to the sound of cymbals and flutes. We descended, guided by an agreeable Brahmin, to the place behind the temple where the birds are fed. It was a bare rock fronting a ruinous summer-house and a shrine containing a cistern from which a Brahmin ladled holy water for the pilgrims. It came, I was told, from a rock pool on the hillside into which a Prime Minister and his dog, who were both afflicted with leprosy, once tumbled and were instantly cured.[1] Here we waited and watched and at 11.20 the first of the sacred birds appeared and perched upon the rock in front of the summer-house. It was obviously an adult Egyptian vulture (*Neophron percnopterus*), white, with bright yellow bill and legs and black pinions, a scavenger common in many parts of India, known in various tongues by briefer and less civil names than the Latin by reason of its repulsive diet and habits. Pilgrims hurried down to watch, and the bird hopped about the rock, preened itself, and finally stood watching us with an alert and beady eye.

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[1] West Asian tale, told in Anatolia.

Presently the feeder of the birds arrived bearing a brass food carrier and several little bowls. After bidding the crowd keep back from the rock he climbed upon it, stood up with his hands joined behind his head, and then bowed down and prostrated himself, muttering a prayer, while the vulture sidled nearer. The prayer over he rose and looked at the sky. The second vulture was in sight; for a time it soared high above us, and the feeder, a stout, bald, merry-looking fellow dressed only in a loincloth, improved the occasion by a brief address, which drew pious ejaculations from the 80 or 90 pilgrims, who crowded the floor of the summer-house or sat under the trees.

And now the second vulture was flying lower. The servitor mixed the food, rice and brown sugar and *ghi* (cooking butter), and placed it in the brass bowls, and the first vulture, walking comically up, thrust his beak into a bowl and ate contentedly. Two minutes later its companion dropped upon the rock, a wilder bird and apparently a younger, for its wings were more heavily marked with black. Soon it, too, was feeding, while delighted pilgrims recited texts. Then suddenly the two white birds rose into the air, circled round the hilltop, and vanished in the blue.

LEGEND OF THE BIRDS

The Brahmins aver that they are two sages whom Shiva changed into birds because of their impatience to win spiritual freedom. They bathe every morning at Benares, fly thence to worship at Rameswaram at the southern extremity of India opposite Ceylon, feed at Tirukalikunram, and are back at Benares by dawn! What is certain is that Tamil poets of the eighth century mention the feeding of these birds, that for many centuries they have appeared without apparently ever missing a day, and never more than two in number, to be fed at the hilltop shrine between 10 A.M. and midday. My explanation of this singular phenomenon is that the Egyptian vulture, like other large birds of prey, mates for life, only taking a new partner when its spouse has died, and that the survivor, having acquired the habit of being fed, persuades its new mate by example to follow it to the feeding-place. One of the two which I saw was certainly shyer and less willing to alight and approach the feeder than the first-comer, and looked like a younger bird.

There are difficulties in the way of this theory. Does the hen leave her eggs when sitting? Do the young when fledged never try to follow their parents? But inherited memory in a particular vulture family seems most improbable, and if the Brahmins have domesticated these birds and trained them to fly, two at a time, to be fed daily for centuries, I can only say that they have kept their secret amazingly well.

CHAPTER VII

WOLF-PRIESTS, GOAT-PRIESTS, OX-PRIESTS, BEE-PRIESTS

On a Pisidian tombstone the name Gagdabos Edagdabos occurs. In publishing this in the *Revue des Universités du Midi*, 1895, p. 360, I quoted Radet's tempting conjecture, that it meant Gagdabos, son of Gdabos, according to very common usage. Religion, however, furnishes a more probable explanation. A priest named Gagdabos adds his title Edagdabos. Gagdabos is a reduplicated form, such as is extremely common in Anatolian nomenclature: *e.g.* on a sarcophagus found in the north Isaurian hills not very far from Lystra the two names Gaa and Goggoa both occur and are evidently names in the same family, one a reduplication of the other; Kretschmer (like all Anatolian students) has noted the habit of using reduplicated names.

Gagdabos, therefore, implies a similar name Gdabos or Gdawos: this word was grecised as *δάος*. *Δάος* is explained by Hesychius as meaning wolf; and the Phrygo-Pisidian god Manes was Daos, the Wolf.

That the god of certain districts in Asia Minor was the Wolf-God is assured by an inscription of Central Phrygia, dated in A.D. 314, when the last and most desperate stage of the pagan reaction against the Christian religion was in progress throughout most part of Asia Minor, and when a general syncretism of various forms of the old Anatolian paganism was fashionable. It has fortunately been preserved practically complete, and now it rests in the Museum at Brussels. How it reached that safe port is unknown to me. I saw it in 1883 and published it in *J.H.S.*, 1883, p. 419[1] (cp. *J.H.S.*, 1918, p. 145). It was lying at a village called Otourak (Leisure), near the small ancient city of Hierocharax, which struck a few rare coins. "In the year 398, and waiting on the commands of the immortal (gods): And I am he that speaks all things, I, Immortal Fortunate[2] (by name), who was initiated by an honourable[3] high priestess of the people, who bore the honourable name Spatale, whom the immortal gods glorified, etc." There was a relief on this side: it was much defaced in ancient time, and a rude cross was incised in its place: this was evidently done by the victorious Christians, not long after the grave-monument was erected. "The high priest Athanatos Epitynchanos (Immortal Fortunate), son of Pious, glorified by Hekate first of all, secondly by Manes-Daos-Heliodromos-Zeus, thirdly by Phoebus, Guiding Leader and Giver of Oracles, received the gift of prophecy from the immortal gods."

In this curious epitaph, where reminiscences of New Testament phraseology occur, the supreme god is named according to the syncretism of the time; Manes-Wolf-Sun-in-its-course-Zeus is an attempt to combine the main characteristics of the divine conception current in the later semi-philosophical revival of paganism; and the inscription is an excellent example and complete proof of the impossibility of such a revival. Paganism in Asia Minor was dead. The world had outgrown it. By stringing together names from various local cults, one could not give life to a dead faith. When the old religions were living, their vitality arose from their being instructive. They consecrated and enforced the laws of right living, according to the country where they were believed. People who lived by agriculture must enforce on all the observance of seasons and days and work. The tribe could not afford to allow its land to be wasted. All might suffer through the carelessness or the neglect of one. The land, too, must lie fallow for certain years and periods: it was a bad style of agriculture, but it was all that the tribe knew, and life for the tribe depended on this. Then the toilsome process of breaking up the hard fallow land, that had grown rich, must be enforced at the proper season. Yet how enforce it? There are in every tribe the lazy and the careless and the idle. That is part of human nature. There existed no formal law that could be enforced.

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[1] My epigraphic copy was practically exact; but my commentary leaves much to be desired, and is in part wrong, owing to my ignorance of the conditions of that period of struggle; also my transcription was not always correct; but it is repeated better in *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, ii. p. 566.

[2] Athanatos Epitynchanos. The high priestess Spatale, whose name is quoted from Claudian and Martial, initiated him. She spelt her name Ispatale, with prosthetic vowel.

[3] That "obscure and difficult adjective," καλός, as a great scholar once called it, is here rendered "honourable." ἀγαθός may be coupled with it in difficulty. They are two adjectives which are first to be learned by the beginner in Greek and the despair of the best scholars.

Religious observance was the only method possible. The cultus of the divine mother, and the observance of her law. Her law was adapted to the country. She, in fact, was herself adapted to the country. Other lands had other gods and strange gods; hence each deity was limited in power to his or her own country. David could complain that Saul had cast him out from his own land to strange gods.

Under the universal Roman Empire, universal throughout the Mediterranean lands, and even beyond, such ideas had become irrational, inconceivable, unbelievable. People were now accustomed to travel, to compare customs and religions. The age of scepticism and indifference set in. No one could be content with the ideas of the past. The attempt to galvanise old faiths into life by syncretism and by making compound gods, such as is exemplified in this fabricated religion, might satisfy an idle, dreamy philosophy, which had no need to use the land, but lived on slavery and expected others to feed the few, and to die for the few. Philosophy could not take the place of religion. A wolf-god, a goat-priest, had long been subjects of laughter and ridicule, however an abstract philosophy, divorced from the tasks of living, might read meaning into them ; and even borrow expressions from the New Testament, just to show how much better paganism could use those words, how much more meaning it could find in them than the Christians. The attempt was vain ; and this inscription shows the vanity of it all. It was engraved for the people ; but it could not convince the common man. Here lies its interest and value. It shows how philosophy tried to make itself intelligible to the ordinary peasants in a glen of central Phrygia ; and all that it produced is a Manes-Wolf-Sun-in-its-course-Zeus, which conveyed nothing to the cultivators of the ground.

Incidentally, we may remark that in this inscription we have an example of the difficulty experienced in understanding the real sense of the adjective καλός, which we have translated "honourable." What the Greeks called honourable, or good, may often seem to us the very opposite ; and at the very moment when the inscription was engraved there was a world-struggle going on as to whether the high-priestess Spatale and the high-priest Athanatos Epitynchanos deserved to be called the good and the honourable, or merited such adjectives as the abominable, the hateful one. The composer of the epitaph intended the adjective καλός to be understood as implying lofty religious character. Those who defaced the monument and marked a cross on it, understood that it meant accursed and hateful. Yet they were neighbours and contemporaries of one another.

Another point worth noting is that Otourak, "leisure," lies at the beginning of the long ascent to the remarkable hollow ridge, along which flows the head-stream of the Tembris or Tembrogius, a chief tributary of the Sangarios, and probably longer than the main stream. The name is suited to the position of the village, and at the same time it bears a resemblance to the ancient Hierocharak. Probably it is a popular formation from the ancient name to suit the circumstances. One needs a rest equally at the beginning as at the end of that steep ascent, as I have experienced.

One of the names of this compound god is the Wolf (the name being Anatolian in form, Da Wos). Now, it was both the Anatolian custom and the pre-Hellenic Greek custom[1] that the chief priest should wear the dress and bear the name of the god. The inscription, therefore, proves that the priest was a Wolf-priest, wearing doubtless the skin of a wolf. The wolf was the most dangerous wild animal[2] of the mountains, and infested also the plains. The popular religion worshipped the object of its dread, in order to propitiate it or ward off its attacks.

Another proof that there was a Wolf-god, if any further proof or confirmation were required, may be drawn from the common practice of calling slaves in Greece or Rome by the name of some god or king of their native country. Now in Rome Davus was a common name for slaves, doubtless implying slaves from Asia Minor.[3] In Asia Minor the king was often the priest of the god, and ruled the land of the god in virtue of being priest and representative of the god.

In the fertile sea-plain at Pergamos the order of priests called Boukoloi, Ox-tenders, implies a religious cult for breeding and tending the ox and the cow, agricultural, differing from the religion of the dry central plateau, where the goat and sheep can be more profitably bred. The head of this order was the Archiboukolos, and the original priest was Dionysos himself. By analogy with this and the similar case of the Galloi with their Archigallos, we look for other examples. In the rude mountain country of Pisidia, *i.e.* in the Central Taurus, whose tribes preyed upon the level fertile plains and peaceful peoples of the Plateau to the north, as we know from the *Anabasis* of Xenophon and the history of Augustus's administration, the religion was wilder; and here the Wolf-priests with their Chief-Wolf-priest Edagdabos were most naturally at home.

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[1] Perpetuated later by conservative religious custom in Greece in some cases.

[2] Stronger animals are found in the mountains still: bear I have seen, panther and leopard are spoken of now, but I know no one that has seen either, though friends of mine have gone to hunt them, and asserted that they were to be found. These, however, were not really so dangerous as the wolf in a pastoral country. The lion once existed in Anatolia, as reliefs prove; but I doubt whether it survived very late.

[3] As to the particular part of Asia that the slave came from, the Romans were, as always, far from exact.

Radet, *loc. cit.*, quotes the group Logbasis, Idalogbasis, where Idalogbasis is described as an eponymous ancestor of the tribe Logbaseis of Termessos (see *Lanckorouski Reisen*, ii. p. 28), with the obvious meaning "the chief of the tribe" (taken as a religious group).

The conclusion is inevitable: there was in Pisidia, and even in Phrygia, an order of priests called Wolves. Then it is evident that, just as there was an Archiboukolos and an Archigallos, so there must have been a chief Wolf, Eda-gdabos, implying that archi- in Greek corresponded to the Anatolian Ida or Ido or Ede. Mt. Ida was the chief or supreme mountain (cp. Sultan-Dagh, the great mountain range of the central plain of Phrygia).[1] Idaguges was the chief Guges, probably some hieratic title in Lydia. Two objections might be made to the interpretation of Mount Ida as the Chief or King. (1) The first syllable of Ida is always long, but Greek poetic usage (or Latin poets following it) does not furnish sufficient proof of the original Anatolian sound: the poetic usage consulted its own convenience frequently, and was easily fixed accordingly. (2) The statement is quoted from the *Etymologicum Magnum*, and from Herodotus, that ἴδη means a wooded mountain or *saltus*; but in the former case the authority is not great, and it may (as Professor J. Fraser suggested) be a mere popular or scholiastic inference from such a phrase as *in vallibus Idae*. Idomeneus, like Ida, has the first syllable long; but this is evidently due to poetic convenience

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[1] It is contrasted with the parallel, but lower ridge, Emir-Dagh; the king with a noble of his court.

(like *ἀθάνατος* in hexameters): the element meno or mene is common in names in the Anatolian priestly families (see *J.H.S.*, 1918, p. 169). The Lycian city Idebessos may be another example.

The term Archigallos was used by the Romans in the borrowed Phrygian cult of Cybele (from Pessinous), and Strabo mentions (like other authorities) that the Phrygian priests were called Galloi; but no epigraphical proof has been found that this name was used in northern Phrygia. In southern Phrygia towards Pisidia the name Archigallos is found on both sides of Sultan-Dagh, near Antioch and among the Orondeis. The name Gallos is probably old Anatolian, and it may possibly be the same as the personal name Glous found in the list of priests at Korykos; but it is more probable that the Anatolian original of the Greek Gallos was Yallos or Gialis. The Lycaonian and Isaurian name Lir or Lour (in the reduplicated form Lilous)[1] may perhaps be connected. That Gallos and Gdabos should become personal names is in accordance with custom.

For the moment I can only state the opinion based on Strabo, that the Ionian tribe in old Attica, Aigikoreis, are goat-priests, who appear on ceremonial occasions as goat-men and are under the presidency of the chief goat-priest, viz. Attis himself, the god who teaches to mankind the religion of the goddess. The second half of the name, Koreis, Anatolian Kaweis, exemplifies perhaps one of the many ways in which the Greeks attempted to represent the Anatolian sound W, for which they had no symbol, and which they were evidently unable to pronounce correctly. There came into play, of course, the general popular tendency to give some sort of suggestion of a meaning to a word belonging to an unknown language; but the use of *καυειν* in the sense of priestess at Sardis, *κοίης* (also *κόης*: Hes.) as priest of the Kabeiroi, and the employment of the word by Hipponax all show that a word which had some form approximating to Kawa or Kowo was widely spread on the west coast and islands of Anatolia.[1]

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[1] More probably Lir or Lour was a broken-down reduplication. On Lir or Lour see Miss Ramsay's note in *J.H.S.*, 1904, p. 285. Lilous and Lir (Lour) perhaps are the Anatolian names of the flower Lilium, the Lily; Lilous was apparently a feminine name.

The same hieratic term can be traced in a more purely Asiatic form in Phrygia. The priests of Kybele at Pessinous are called in inscriptions Attabokaoi. This word falls into two elements which generally have been wrongly specified. The first is not Atta (as has been stated)[2] but Attabo, and the second is Kawoi. Attabo is one way of rendering in Greek at a particular locality and time the Phrygian word mentioned elsewhere as Attego or Attago which meant goat. Ultimately the word was Attawo, and it is obviously closely related to the name of the god Attes: in fact Attes is the goat-god, *i.e.* the god of a people whose occupation was largely connected with the domestication of the goat.

Here again we have the goat-priests of the goat-god and the goddess who made the law of goat-keeping and goat-breeding.

The central regions of Anatolia, as has been said above, are mainly pastoral, though the soil is in the plains very fertile; but it is generally too dry for agriculture, being dependent on the uncertain chance of rainfall. Hence the god was the giver of rain, and worshipped as such. Agriculture, therefore, plays little part, except in the occasional cultivation of gardens surrounded by walls; these were in fact sometimes called by the Persian name Paradeisos, walled enclosure, but generally by the Anatolian name Kapo.

The suggestion that B and R and L and W interchange in this way will strike horror into the mind of the philologist; but it must be remembered that this is not a case of the development of one single language. It is a case of the adoption in alien countries and languages of words from a strange tongue containing a number of sounds which were unknown to, and unpronounceable by, and unrepresented in the alphabet of, any of the Greek tribes and races. At different times and in different localities the same Anatolian sound was reproduced in different ways in Greek letters, in fact it is even true to assert that in the same place and much about the same time an Anatolian name was represented by different Greek letters. We are dealing here with a matter of history rather than of philology. Just as priest and presbyter are the same Greek word which has come into English through different routes and assumed totally different forms, and just as the Germans call that Polish river Weichsel which we call Vistula, and the Germans and we call Dantzig (or slightly different spellings) the Polish town Gdansk, and just as the Croatian town of Zagreb is called in German Agram, so it is with the rendering of Anatolian names in Greek. The total difference in the character of enunciation in Anatolia and in Greece is a fact which is as true at the present day as it was in ancient times. The quotation made in *H.G.A.M.*, footnote to p. 281, can be applied universally with reference to the difference between Greek and Anatolian pronunciation. Sounds which existed on the eastern side of the Aegean were unknown on the western side. Not merely is this the case with the spirants W and Y; it is equally the case with the nasalised vowels which are such a marked feature of Lycian and Lydian alphabets and which give rise to so many variations in the grecisation of Anatolian proper names; and, also, vowels which were long in Greek were shortened in Anatolian pronunciation, and *vice versa*. The halting verses inscribed on tombs often show this non-Greek quantity.

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[1] See Buckler and Robinson in *A.J.A.* xvii., 1913, p. 362 ff. Fournier, *Rev. des Et. Anc.*, 1914, p. 438, suggests Old Persian kāvyáh.

[2] Bokaoi was compared with Boukoloi. On these priests see *I.G.R.R.* iii. 230, 235.

It is a necessary foundation of our hypothesis, as has been already said, that in a wild mountain region like Pisidia the god and his priests should be conceived by the people in a savage aspect;[1] whereas in the peaceful level plains of Phrygia, devoted largely to pastoral pursuits and especially to the breeding of the goat, the god and his priests should be pictured as the teachers and regulators of goat culture; while at Pergamos, in a low rich valley, where cows were more important than goats, the god and his priests are described as cow-keepers (*βουκόλοι*).

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[1] On the monument dedicated to the deceased Augustus at Pisidian Antioch (see *J.H.S.*, 1916, p. 105) the fettered captive Homanadensian or Pisidian Wolf-

Even agricultural forms are a picture of the divine life: the goddess unites with the god "in the thrice-ploughed fallow field," Demeter with Iasion, as Homer says in the *Odyssey*, but Homer believed in his imagery and his religion. The primitive agriculture allowed the earth to lie fallow for certain seasons: the soil cannot produce a crop every year. But a fallow field grows hard, and the primitive plough of the ancient could not easily break up the stubborn soil. The field had to be "thrice ploughed."[1] Thus Demeter, the Earth Mother, bears the divine child; but Iasion is slain by the thunderbolt. A life must be given in primitive ritual that the crop may acquire the power of growth. The father perishes that the offspring may flourish, as is the case with the bee, which is our last example.

Clearest of all is the life-history of the bee in nature and of the queen-bee in the hive. The queen must find a consort within three weeks of her birth, otherwise the power of maternity seems to become lost. Mythology rioted in variations on the plain and unpleasant theme; but the facts of life must be faced, if we are to understand ancient religion.

Demeter was a foreigner in Attica. She had come to Eleusis probably from Crete and (as may be added) ultimately from Anatolia, whence came almost all the ritual and religious forms of Greece with the Ionic migration.

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man was represented in his ideal ugliness as the naked savage. He is the man in his brutality, though retaining the human form. Only the chief of the Homanadensians wears a light garment.

[1] Perhaps one should not lay a stress on the number; but probably it was prescribed in the ritual law, in order to guard against carelessness.

Goat-priests, Wolf-priests, even Ox-priests (though nothing is known about them except their name), might play their part on the religious stage, wearing the skin of the sacred animal. Dionysos Melanaigis was a noted figure in certain Athenian ritual; assuredly he was originally the god with the black goatskin, and as the god does, so do his priests. But the bee-priestesses are different. They could bear the name bees, working bees, *μέλισσαι*;[1] but the outward form could not be imitated. Their goddess was the Queen-bee, the Artemis of Ephesus. A body of priests in her worship were Essenes, the drones. The Greeks, even Aristotle, misconceived the sex of bees; and they believed the Queen-bee to be male, and called her the King-bee (*βασιλεύς*); and this King-bee was the chief Essen, from whom the priests took their name. There was, however, no such error in the Ephesian cult. The goddess of Ephesus, "Diana of the Ephesians," was the Queen-bee: her image makes this plain. The body has only the slightest resemblance to a human body. Its form is much more that of a queen-bee. The ovary occupies the greater part of the body, and the ova, which seem to be swelling out, were mistaken by the Greeks for mammae. They were not intended, however, to represent breasts, for no nipple was indicated. That is quite clear on the best statuette which I have seen. Regarding the image from this point of view, the mass of the body is simply a skin filled with ova. She is the one great mother of life in the community of the hive. Without her there is no reproduction, and the hive perishes unless a new queen is found. The three classes, queen, drones, and working bees, constitute the community, viz. the goddess and her priests and priestesses. The queen selects her consort among the male bees, and flies off with him; but he perishes in the nuptial flight.

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[1] M. Picard hesitates about the use of the name *μέλισσαι*, but inclines to accept it in his great work on *Éphèse et Claros*: the priestesses, *παρθένοι*, as they were also called, have the nature of *μέλισσαι*, and other reasons, not noticed by him, make the latter name certain; and it is generally accepted.

In the working bees the sexual character is undeveloped. The queen-bee was the Great Mother, from whom comes all life. The mystery of life, the succession of child to parent, of crop to seed, was the central idea in the Anatolian religion. The daughter is the mother, the son is the father, different and yet the same. In Attica, Demeter and Kora, the Maid Persephone, are often represented as indistinguishable. The mother is the important figure; the god is simply an accident in the full development of her life, and passes out of notice when he has fulfilled his part in the drama of the divine life. In many myths the union of the two is portrayed as a crime against law and nature, even as an act of fraud or of hateful violence, which entails punishment unto death.

Darda meant, as Hesychius mentions, a bee; but which class of bee is not easy to ascertain. *Melissa*, or *melitta*, is a formation from *meli*, an old Anatolian word, which is still retained in Turkish as *bal*, Latin *mel*; hence, perhaps, *balyk*, a town, often found in Anatolia, is derived. The town, the unity and assembly of human beings in a community, is modelled on the community of the bees in a hive. As *melissai* were almost certainly the working bees, *darda* meant probably the male bees, the drones. From it is derived the name of the people, Dardanoi, of the hero Dardanus, and the town Dardanos, on the Hellespont, between Troy and the Narrows, where now the Dardanelles has its chief modern seat at Tchanak-Kalesi (Potter's Castle). That bees in their hive should be a model of human life in a city is natural. Bees are regarded as peculiarly closely related to human beings, viz. those human beings that know and befriend and tend them; and it was an old custom in England to whisper to the hives the news of any important event in family history, a death or a birth.

That *melissai* were the working bees, the undeveloped females, the makers of *mel*, is obvious from the derivation, and is clearly shown from the religion of Ephesus, the religion of the bee and its tending.

CHAPTER VIII

THE VILLAGE RIGHT[1]

The Greek-spelt word *oa*, *ôgê*, *oua*, quoted by Hesychius, is certainly Anatolian by origin; it meant village or district or tribe. The land and the people that occupied it were almost identified. That is the old West Asian law, the land belongs to the cultivators and possessors: those who use the land have a right to it; those that do not use the land lose any right, and it passes to the State or the assembled tribe to allot to those members of the community that will use it (see Chapter II.). This, as we have seen in that chapter, was regulated and modified by the Mosaic Law according to the Jubilee year, when land returned in possession to the owners (or their representatives), who had possessed it fifty years ago. The great lawgiver foresaw, and guarded against, that fundamental fact of human nature, that no equal division of property can be permanent, and that some men possess superior powers of economy and of acquisition, and such men must inevitably acquire greater wealth than others who are less able and less prudent. If the principle of the Jubilee year was ever truly carried into effect, it would inevitably be found that some will lose and grow poor, and others will gain and become rich; but the Old Testament is full of complaints against the backsliding of the Jewish people, and against the failure of the Mosaic Law to secure regular or faithful observation. The monarchy was fatal to the principle, that is pointed out in 1 Samuel as the inevitable consequence of kingship (see Chapter II.). Even the institution of Judges implies that outstanding individual men were needed in cases of national danger from foreign attack, great men who possessed courage and leadership beyond their fellows, though their rights, suddenly gained in stress of circumstances, did not pass to their children. Yet Jair who judged Israel twenty-two years had thirty sons who rode on thirty asses colts (Judges x. 4) ; and it is not to be supposed that every Israelite had either thirty sons or thirty asses. A certain dignity and dominance inevitably attached to the superior intellectual moral and physical ability that marked out the judge. Jair is not said to have achieved anything of any kind, except the sons and the thirty asses.[1]

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[1] The evidence is given in a more scientific form in an article by the present writer, printed for No. II. of the new Journal *Oriens*, the issue of which has been long delayed owing to the tragic death of Professor Ember (Johns Hopkins) and all his family by fire. The reader may consult that article.

There was something like the Judgeship in the Roman Republic. The Dictator was called forth by some sudden emergency : his power was limited to six months, and for many centuries there was no case where a dictator was found to be aiming at permanent power. Every one returned to his ordinary occupation at the end of his tenure of that extraordinary office: in many cases six months was not needed to save the Republic from disaster ; and the Dictator voluntarily retired from power as soon as his task was accomplished. Cincinnatus stood forth as the typical Roman Judge and Dictator. He gave up the supreme power, and returned of his own accord to plough his own land.

The identity in usage of *Owa*, *Oîa*, *Oua*, as the land and the tribe, in Anatolia, *i.e.* in Western Asia, proves that the tribe and the possessors of land in the tribe were almost equivalent facts and ideas. That this was true far more widely in Asia is proved by the use of the Turkish term *ova* and the Turkmen *oba*.[1] They denote at once land and people or tribe. See also forms beginning with omega—*obai*, *obatus*, *oge*; and the notes of Hesychius on *kôme*, *komai*, *kometis*.

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[1] The Israelites became a very mixed people : they intermarried freely with the various nations of Palestine (Judges iii. 6) ; and 600,000 who came out of Egypt cannot all have been sprung from Jacob (Exod. xii. 37, xxxviii. 26, Numb. i. 46, xi. 21). Other slaves of the Egyptians must have taken the chance of freedom (Exod. xii. 38), as was only natural.

Neighbours and fellow-tribesmen were called *oar*, *oares*, or *oaroi*. The tribe had its central village, called Kishla usually in modern Turkish, the same word that denotes "barracks for soldiers," for the Turks were all soldiers: it was their duty and their occupation. Hence, in general, neighbours were *oares* or *oaroi* (where the case termination is Greek).[2] The word denoting neighbourly conversation was *oaristys* or *oarismos*, the friendly talk of people living familiarly beside one another in the same Oa (*i.e.* ova), and the verb was to "oarise" (ὀαρίζειν in Greek). These derivative words are characteristic particularly of Homer and his imitators. They were used mostly of talking and flirtation between young men and young women, and once at least of Hector talking to his wife before he went to battle. Achilles draws a powerful contrast between the talk that he is about to have with Hector in single combat, and the flirting conversation between a youth and a maid, sitting beside one another on a rock or a tree. Hesychius even mentions that *oares* was used in the sense of women.

This whole series of words combines to give a picture of easy, pleasant village life: I quote in illustration words which I used more than thirty years ago (*Impressions of Turkey*, p. 122): "The total want of pleasant intercourse and friendly open relations between men and women greatly intensifies the monotony and the ignorance of village life, and also produces many other evils—a subject on which I will not enter. But, after a long time among Turks, it was quite delightful and refreshing to meet, beside a Kurd village, a young man driving out a bullock-cart to the harvest, and a young woman walking beside it, talking and laughing and engrossed in each other's company.[1] It was like a breath of Europe, bearing the scent of home."

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[1] The distinction between the Turks and the Turkmens or Nomads is apparent from the beginning of the Turkish conquest in 1071. It is mentioned as early as A.D. 1100. See *H.G.A.M.* p. 213. It was the Nomads who broke the power of the Christian population. The distinction of Turk and Nomad lasts till the present day, though Abd-ul-Hamid tried to make the Nomads settle down.

[2] Intermarriage between different villages is rare still, and hardly occurs if one differs in race from the other.

The word *Oa* occurs in the late Phrygian inscriptions of the third century after Christ, and much later its existence is proved by a curious passage in several of the Byzantine writers (especially Leo Diaconus, p. 122). Leo Phokas, in his ill-starred attempt to make himself Emperor, A.D. 920, after having penetrated as far as Chrysopolis on the Bosphorus, was obliged to flee, and was captured on the way. The name of the village where he was taken was Goleont or Oêleont (in which we observe the difficulty that there was in representing a native Anatolian name in Greek letters and speech). The historians called it Goê-leont, and rendered it "the mourning of Leo," because his eyes were put out immediately when he was captured; and the historians remark that the name was perhaps due to the original dispensation of Providence, and foreshadowed the fate of Leo.[2]

There can be no doubt that the village was called Ogeleont, and that it is the same village that is called Leontos-kome, mentioned as a village of Phrygia where hot springs, impregnated with nitre and possessing curative properties, are mentioned by Athenaeus, ii. 43. They are numerous in the district round the modern Afiom-Kara-Hissar, a district where the name and the figures of the lions on the rocks and the character of the rocks prove that the lion was recognised as the divine feature of the district.[3] Two of those hot springs are situated quite near each other on the Anatolian Railway line in a pass four or five hours north of Kara-Hissar; and here Leo was probably captured. The pass was on his road to his own estates beyond Tyriaion and Serai-iñi:[1] he must almost certainly go through it, and then make his way by the long valley of Paroreios Phrygia past Serai-iñi. Swift messengers had outstripped him, and caught him in the pass.

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[1] The scene was in the valley of the Euphrates on the western side of the river in 1890.

[2] *Histor. Geog. of Asia Minor*, p. 143.

[3] But Kara-Arslan is modern; see p. 94, note.

There are other hot springs in this part of Paroreios, one near the railway line leading from Afiom-Kara-Hissar to Smyrna, two hours distant, the other towards Tchai and the East, four hours distant, but they were not such favourable places for catching Leo, as the country is more open. The great rock of Kara-Hissar itself was Leontos-Kephalai, the Lion's Heads or Lion's Head, the strongest fortress in all Phrygia. A line of great volcanic rocks are here thrust out from the level limestone plain. The biggest of these, a column of rock 560 feet in height or more, was a fortress and a prison.[2] The modern castle is a mediaeval ruin, practically deserted; and some high authorities have rejected this identification (made first by G. Hirschfeld); but the modern ruins furnish no sufficient evidence, for the form of the rock made it a castle by nature; and I was assured by a good authority that there were traces of ancient wall. I have never ascended that column of rock.

From Hesychius, we learn that *kôme* or *kume*, and *rûme*, were used in the Anatolian village system, and are characteristic of it. The village was a line of houses along a street or road (*rûme*); and, as the settlement grew in size, the number of streets would increase. Like *kôme*, *kume*, there was doubtless a variation *rôme*, *rûme*. The names Gorgo-rome, Ophiorume, occur, evidently meaning Gorgon's village, Serpent's village. Gorgon's village is still called Gulgurum near Lake Trogitis, and Ophiorume was on the road that leads past Hierapolis with its wealth of hot springs in the Lycus valley.[1] The name was easily transferred in the Christian legend to Hierapolis itself; but the great road to the East from the Hermus valley by Kallataba would not pass through Hierapolis on the rough hills, but at the foot of the hills, in the low level ground near the Lycus, passing close to the *duden*, where the hot water, after being manifested by the goddess to her people, flows back again into the earth.[2]

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[1] See an article in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1923, ii., part 2.

[2] Plutarch, *Themist.* 30; Appian, *Mithrid.* 19 and 20. On its use as a prison see my articles in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1920, p. 107. The second path up and down the steep rock, which was required in my theory, exists, as a lady who had traversed it told me later.

Professor Calder in *Discovery*, April 1920, p. 100 f., prefers to interpret *rôme* as "head," and the local names accordingly. Certainly *rô* or *rôs* in Anatolian meant "head" or promontory, and it is true that many places in the Greek world were named with the element head (*κεφαλή*), such as Boos-kephalon, Kynoskephalai, etc. But *rô* or *rôs* must be distinguished from *rômê*. Anatolian *ros* has in all probability given origin to the Arabic *ras*, "promontory," which is, according to Professor Sayce, not a true Semitic form.

Hesychius mentions that *kometis* means a neighbour (feminine); for people who live in the same village are naturally neighbours; and adds the explanation that "villages are streets."[3] He has also the explanation "villages = streets, *ῥῦμαι*," and "a village is a street or a district."[4] Take these interpretations in connexion with Strabo's expression: "Smyrna, when it was captured by the Lydians, was organised on the village system," *i.e.* as an Anatolian community, and no longer a Greek self-governing *polis*; as we have known for a long time from an inscription, however, it was not destroyed, but continued to exist as Smyrna, no longer as a Greek polis, but as an Anatolian town. Then you have the whole gist of the preceding paragraphs in a few scattered Greek phrases, picked from different authors and interpreted, not by theory, but by following the literal meaning of the ancient authorities.

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[1] Was Roma "the town" on the road at the crossing of the Tiber? Or is the old derivation, Stroma, stream-village, to be preferred? Both are Anatolian words.

[2] This *duden* has been rarely seen by travellers, who are usually content with the more conspicuous and wonderful sights of Hierapolis itself.

[3] *κῶμαι γὰρ τὰ ἄμφοδα.*

[4] *κῶμαι· ἀγυιαί, ῥῦμαι* and *κώμη· ἄμφοδον, χωρίον.*

Professor Calder was perhaps misled by the first element in certain Lycaonian or Cilician words, which is sometimes "Ro" as in Rô-sgêtis, Rô-zrumeris, etc., sometimes "Rôn," as in Ron-derbemis, Rondberras and others; but the "n" in such cases has no connexion with the "m" of the suffix "mê" or "ma"; it is the usual expression in Greek letters of the peculiar nasalisation which is such a frequent feature of Anatolian words.

As an example of the growth of Anatolian villages, *kômai*, we may take the place that became the city Neapolis of Pisidia. The true old Pisidian towns were built on high peaks of the Taurus mountains. The town that occupied the north-eastern corner of Pisidia was Anaboura, about seven hours south-east from Pisidian Antioch.[1] It was situated on a high point above the modern village Enevre. Sterrett discovered Enevre, and rightly recognised it as a modern pronunciation of the old Anaboura, but wrongly supposed that it was the site of the Pisidian town. Pisidian towns were not planted in a hollow level valley, but on lofty, hardly accessible mountain sites: they were robber-strongholds from which the people descended to spoil the peaceful Phrygians of the fertile plains, unwarlike by long habit, and willing to live at ease in quiet enjoyment, until Antioch was made a Roman colony to guard against the Pisidians and Homanadenses about 21–19 B.C.

I long followed Sterrett both in his correct identification and in his wrong supposition; but in 1926 I was informed by an old inhabitant of Yallowadj, the modern town at the edge of Antioch, that the real Pisidian site was on a high peak above Enevre in the rugged mountains on the west. I had known this man since 1882, but the information that one desires is often long in coming. The modern population are very willing to talk; they are eager to tell what they know;[1] but they tell what they think the explorer desires to learn, and do not know what he wants.

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[1] It is so called in the correct text of the Acts xiii. 7, not because it was in Pisidia ("of Pisidia" is the false reading there), but because it was the defence against the Pisidians. Strabo three times calls it "a Phrygian city towards Pisidia," *i.e.* on the side of Pisidia, directed towards Pisidia. The frontier lay between Antioch and Neapolis, which was annexed by the Pisidians of Anaboura.

The population of the Pisidian mountain stronghold of Anaboura began to find that it was more pleasant to live in the fertile plains than in the rugged rocky country; they came down; and there gradually grew up on the great highway from Apamea and Antioch towards the Cilician Gates and Syria a New Town, which first of all was a *kôme* by the road, and gradually grew more important and acquired the status of a city as Neapolis. This growth was apparently a long, slow process. The highway must have been very important from the time when Apollonia and Antiochea were founded to guard the Seleucid communications with their Syrian capital, *i.e.* from soon after 300 B.C. Yet about 100 B.C. Artemidorus, and about A.D. 20 Strabo knew no place Neapolis: evidently it was still a roadside village or small town. The line of Augustus's Via Sebaste passed through it from 6 B.C. onwards, and it then rapidly increased during the first century after Christ. Its territory is fertile, and it was a wealthy city, which could furnish a citizen to bear the great expense of entertaining the Oecumenical Artists' assembly at Ancyra about A.D. 128.

My informant called the name of the village Elevre, whereas both Sterrett and I heard the name as Enevre. The variation between "n" and "l" is a characteristic Anatolian feature in their pronunciation. I observed a similar variation in the name of one of the twelve quarters of Yallowadj. It is called, as I have always caught the name, Nevlepjilar; but in the official map it is spelt Lebelebjilar. The variation in Anatolian Greek inscriptions between

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[1] Only two subjects are tabu, religion and the family.

V or W (*i.e. ου*) and B has been often observed by Professor Calder and myself: and the substitution of the surd for the sonant before J, which I made, is extremely easy in the native pronunciation. I have never been able to determine whether Yallowadj or Yallowatch is true to the local pronunciation.[1]

There are inscriptions of Anaboura at Neapolis (now called Karagatch, Black Tree), and at Eurdekji in the plain (a village not far from Enevre). The former is an extremely important document, recording the gift made by two brothers to the people of Anaboura. They were the descendants of the ancient god of the land, Manes of Ouramma; and were obviously an ancient priestly family. The date unfortunately is not given.[2]

The technical term for the Anatolian social system is used by Strabo. When a Greek polis or city-state was made into the Anatolian style, "it was organised according to the village system." [3] The verb "to be organised" is important. The polis ceased to be a self-governing body of individual citizens: it was now regulated on the analogy of a family or household (*οἶκος*). The kôme was the household "writ large."

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[1] An interesting phenomenon of derivation is now in process. The best Turkish authorities that I knew asserted positively that Yallowadj was not a Turkish name; but it is now receiving a Turkish form by being made into Yali-vadj. *Yali*, level, is a common element in Turkish local names.

[2] I published it in *Athenische Mitteilungen des deutschen Instituts*, 1883, p. 72. See also on the land of Ouramma an article in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1918, p. 146. The land of Ouramma and the neighbouring promontory and pass were keenly contested in a law suit by the Pisidian Timbriada, which dominates the land, and decided by the Roman governor of Galatia, before the foundation of Antioch as a Colonia, but after 25 B.C.

[3] ᾠκεῖτο κωμηδόν.

CHAPTER IX

THE PHRYGIAN DIRGE

VEHEMENT mourning in the Oriental style has been an obligatory rite in the Anatolian burial ceremonies throughout all time. The accompaniment varies in musical and linguistic execution, but is fundamentally the same in type to-day and in the Roman period, and doubtless in the early Anatolian period.

I. At the present day the mourning takes place in the court of the house, within closed outer gates. No one is admitted except mourning women and the family: all others are hustled out (as we have seen). On the plateau I was once admitted in 1884 (when my wife was with me and we were allowed to remain as guests of the village). From this experience I judge, and from what I have heard otherwise. No musical accompaniment nowadays takes place, because the art of music has been lost. The proceedings were brief: not more than two hours elapsed between the death of "Big Hassan" (who was reaping in the fields on a very hot day and fell down—perhaps only in a fainting fit) and his interment in a shallow grave. The bearing of the corpse from the field to the house, and from the house to the grave, was public, and there was loud mourning in a semi-rhythmic fashion during these processions. The men joined in this part of the mourning; and any sound uttered on the march naturally tends to assume a certain rhythmic character: it is like the anapæsts which accompany the entrance of the chorus on the stage in a Greek Tragedy. The mourning of the women in the house was so vehement that it was sometimes interrupted by hysterical fits of laughter on the part of the mourners. The men did not utter any sound in the court: they were occupied in preparing the body for the grave. Everything was done very decorously. The women were in the open gallery of the house, from which steps lead down to the court. The body was laid out in the court. In most places there is a large flat stone near the cemetery, on which the body is laid: it is called (if I recollect rightly) Mushalem-Tash; and I have sometimes been embarrassed when there is found an ancient inscription on this stone. No religious ceremony took place at the house or in the courtyard.

As to the loss of the art of music, there are some exceptions. The music of the Mevlevi Dervishes (dancing Korubantes), when we heard it once in its full splendour at a special performance in Afiom-Kara-Hissar, seemed to be the old music used in the worship of Cybele, with flutes and cymbals: but it has much degenerated in my lifetime.[1] Also the shepherd plays little tunes to his sheep to direct their movements. Turkish song-tunes used to be a caterwauling. Recently European music has been introduced, especially in the National Anthem, which the school children sing.

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[1] The Dervish Sheikh, an old man, quite blind, entertained us on the estate that belongs hereditarily to his family; the estate is called Kara Arslan, the black or terrible lion of the Seljuks, under whom the Mevlevi were organised and made a part of the Moslem establishment, though alien to Islam. He offered to arrange on Friday a special performance in our honour, if we would promise to be present. It was far finer than any performance that I have heard at Konia, which is the chief seat of the Mevlevi. The Mevlevi estate at Konia is also called Kara Arslan: it was very rich and well cultivated. The Sheikhs drink wine, a sure proof that they are non-Moslem. The chief Sheikh at Konia, named the Tchelebi Effendi, had the right to gird on the sword of the Ottoman Sultans while the Sultanate lasted. Those Sheikhs whom I have seen read and enjoyed with keen pleasure a Persian book of poetry (by Reynold Nicholson), which we presented to Tchelebi Effendi in 1901. His successor was brought to Constantinople to inaugurate the reign of the last Sultan. The ceremony of girding on the sword, symbolising the legitimate succession of Ottoman (Osmanli) to Seljuk, took place in the Mosque of Eyub (Job of the Old Testament) outside of Stamboul to the north.

II. As regards the dirge in the Roman period, we gather the details from inscriptions of the Roman period. Strange to say, the best of these belong to the fourth century, and the age when Christianity was dominant but not yet so powerful as to be tyrannous. Earlier than that time probably the art of writing was little used in the villages, where old customs lasted longest. Flute music accompanied the dirge: the court of the house was the scene. There is evident in some epitaphs the first stage of drama,[1] because there is a variation between the first person and the second and the third. Sometimes the dead man speaks, sometimes he is addressed, sometimes the mourners (especially the chief mourner) speak in the first and third persons. Even conversation between mourners and the dead occurs. Dramatic action was developed in Athens out of the dithyramb, or funeral mourning round the altar of Dionysos. Now the dead man is always identified with the god in the old Anatolian funeral rites,[2] and the grave is his "house," his "altar," his "door," or his "temple"; and at the grave sepulchral feasts and ceremonies took place annually, so long as memory and money bequeathed for the purpose of the feast lasted.[3] All these names for the grave, together with many others, are used in Roman epitaphs. Sometimes the sepulchral monument was large and contained an upper chamber over the grave proper, where the annual feast could be held. Sometimes the single word "door," engraved on a simple stele or on an altar stone, took the place of a more elaborate monument. The word indicated that here below was the door from the world of life to the world of the dead. Generally the grave-stone had the form of an altar, or of a miniature temple-house (*i.e.* a sarcophagus curiously carved to represent a small dwelling).[1]

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[1] That the Drama had any influence on these epitaphs is impossible: they are the simple natural expression of peasants' emotion.

[2] "Sepulchral Rites in Ancient Phrygia" (*J.H.S.*, 1884, p. 241 ff.) contains the detailed proof that the grave was the "door" (θύρα): the "Tomb of Midas," greatest of the early Phrygian monuments, is at once a shrine and a grave. No sanctity can attach to a spot in Anatolia unless there is a grave there; this custom is deep-rooted in mediaeval and modern Turkish Anatolia. See also *Stud. in East. Rom. Provinces*, p. 270, and Callander, *ibid.* p. 171 (where read προγονικόν: the full restoration throughout is certain). The door is the entrance to the presence of the god; and the ceremony is in a sense a *mysterion*: compare *Annual B.S.A.*, 1912–13, on the "Mysteries at Pisidian Antioch."

[3] The Ionians in European Greece came from Anatolia, and brought much Anatolian custom with them (Chap. XVII.).

There was also a different class of epitaph expressed as a registration of property according to law, executed in duplicate; and a copy of the deed was usually deposited in the archives of the city. This semi-legal, or even fully legal, class of epitaph, which has nothing of the character of a dirge, is a sort of will (*testamentum*); the maker of the tomb states his ownership of the grave-property, specifies those, if any, whose corpses may be admitted and excludes either expressly or by implication all others. A penalty in money is specified for intrusion of a corpse unlawfully, and a reward promised to the successful prosecutor, whether a private individual, or a public body, or the State itself. A good example of this legal class, from the pre-Roman period in South Galatia, is published in *J.H.S.*, 1922, p. 181, where the Thracian part of the Apolloniate population is admitted to the annual festival, and by implication the Lycian part is excluded: there is, however, no penalty for violation or unlawful intrusion. The local custom hardened into law during the Seleucid period, and the Roman law in the country equally recognised such custom as legally binding. Cases, however, occur of unlawful intrusion of a corpse; and the old epitaph was even sometimes erased, and a new epitaph incised; or in other rare cases a new epitaph was engraved alongside of the old. As has been stated, in the Phrygo-Lycaonian plains, especially north of Boz-Dagh, where neither Seleucid law nor Roman law ever acquired much hold,[1] the epitaph was very frequently during Roman times, even in Christian times about A.D. 330–360,[2] a sort of metrical or semi-metrical expression of the mourning dirge; and there is hardly ever (except in Graeco-Asiatic cities) any reference to ownership and legal right. I add two examples of the dirge-epitaph in illustration: in these I have been helped by Buckler and by Calder, as they are faint, lightly engraved originally, and made fainter by lapse of time; sometimes part is illegible or the stone is broken. Two are selected that are practically complete.

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[1] See the inscription just quoted, which is very instructive as regards the construction of a grave-monument. Aponius made the grave for himself and his wife, Visellia (the first duty of a husband after marriage); the grave is to continue to be the home and sanctuary of the ancestors of the future family; no other corpse shall be introduced into it. In the chamber (οἶκος) underneath the grave proper, Aponius retains the right to allow the remains of others to rest, whom he shall designate by will. As no money is bequeathed in the epitaph, the celebration of the grave of the deceased and his wife, the *progonoi*, would not last long. See also the elucidating epitaph in the writer's article, *J.H.S.*, 1922, p. 181.

It may be added that the simple lament for the virtues of the deceased, a natural outpouring of deep emotion, was gradually transformed in Rome into the stately and public funeral oration (*laudatio funebris*). That Anatolian custom in religion, coming through Etruria, exercised much influence on Rome is now well established and accepted. Nothing could better illustrate the difference of racial character than this transformation.

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[1] Pergamenian possession of Lycaonia was granted at the peace of 189 B.C., but it is highly improbable that this possession ever became real. The distance was too great for the weakening Pergamenian power to establish itself over "all on this side of Taurus." This is in itself a very loose geographical expression, which might be interpreted in various ways according to Roman choice or Pergamenian power. The Romans had no great desire to establish a really strong Attalid successor to the Seleucid power in Asia Minor, and probably preferred a vague expression to a definite recognition.

[2] About A.D. 400 a definitely Christian type of epitaph was established. Previously in Christian epitaphs old pagan forms were employed, though only rarely was anything really pagan allowed.

On the other hand, the Greeks modified the old dirge into such poetry as the Lament for Bion. Much bucolic poetry is of the same class. Both hexameters and elegiacs are used in the late Phrygian dirges; also a mixture; and Greek elegiac poetry is a higher development of it. The Attic tragedy has already been mentioned.

It is best to give the original spelling, as this represents a stage in the development of Anatolian Greek: the reader will understand that ἔνος is ἔρνος (the soft semi-vocalised Ρ of Anatolia disappearing, as often in local and personal Anatolian names, caught by Greek ears or expressed in the Greek alphabet). The representation of vowel sounds in Greek, as spoken on the plateau, varies widely from the spelling of classical Greek. Η for ΑΙ was common chiefly in northern Phrygia and represented a local variety of Greek pronunciation; final Ν of accusative was often omitted, sometimes final sigma of nominative; a final Ν was often added in the accusative of the third declension, *e.g.* βασιλῆαν and ἐμέν. A single letter often plays the part of two. This is commonly the case where the last letter of a word and the first letter of the next are the same.[1]

Comparison of similar dirges over Anatolia shows that there were many stock phrases, which were used and modified as convenient. But these stock phrases are not to be taken as mere empty metrical unmeaning verbiage; they express the deep feeling of the survivors. We cannot expect to find a real poem or a real poet in the villages, but we do find real feeling in the mourning. This vehemence of mourning satisfied the mind, and the loss was quickly forgotten.

(1) At Kolu-Kissa (where Kissa is probably the ancient *gissa*, stone, the Roman imperial property Giza or Gisza)[2] this inscrip-

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[1] See *J.H.S.*, 1918, p. 125 ff.

[2] On the imperial estates old customs were longest preserved, and paganism was retained late. On Gissa, Gisza, see *H.G.A.M.* p. 412; *Stud. in Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 365.

tion was copied by me in 1906 during a very hurried drive of a distance reckoned twelve hours to catch a forenoon train. A deep cut runs down through the inscription and destroys one to three letters in every line. There are many stock phrases used in this epitaph; but even stock phrases expressed real deep emotion, and were passed on among village poets, like Homeric and epic phrases in an older time.

⳨

ἐξ ἀγαθῆς ῥίζης ἕνος κλυτὸν ἐξε[φ]αάνθη.
Μ*ένανδρος πανάριστος, ἐπὶ με[γά]λ' οὔνο(μα) ἔσχε,*
Π*ρεσβ. γέγονε[ν] πανυπέρτατο[ς] ἠδὲ δίκαιος*
Ο*ὗ δὴ λίψανα κτ ὑπὸ χθόνα που[λ]υβοτίρην*
Ψ*υχὴ δ' αὐτοῖο ἵν' ἀθάνατος [Θ]εὸς ἔστιν·*
Ἄ*βραμ οἷς κόλποις ἀναπαύσ[ετ]ε ὡς μακάρων τις·*
Ὅ*ν πάτρη ὑμενεῖ, ἐπευφη[με]ῖ δὲ ἔλημος.*
Τ*ῷ δ' ἄλοχος Κλέουσα προγενί[σε]τε μυρομένη περ*
“ Π*ῶς μούνη μ' ἔλιπες; καὶ [πῶς(?)κακ]ὰ πήματα πάσχω;”*
Π*ιρωθεὶς αὐτὴν ἀπαμίβε[τ' ἑ]ὸς πόσις ἐσθλός·*
“Ἦ*μοι ἐμὴ ἄλοχος, μὴ [δά]κρυ̣ε̣, μήδ' ὀρόθυνε*
Ψ*υχὰς κασιγνήτων, ἐπὶ πόθεον με<[> καὶ αὐτοί*
Τ*ερπόμενοι ζίοντι Θεῶν ὅτ[ι] οἱ εὔαδεν οὕτω*
Ε*ὐχωλὰς δὲ Θεῷ ἀποτίνυ[ω ὥ]ς κέ σε θᾶσσον*
ρύσετ' ἐξ ἀ[θ]έων καί μοι κ[αλὸν] οὔνομα λίποις.”

“ From a good stock a famous branch has blossomed. Excellent Menander, because he won great reputation, became a Presbyter, supreme and just, (4) whose remains now lie under earth the nourisher of all; but his soul is where immortal God (dwells). In the bosom of Abram he will rest as one of the blessed. Him his fatherland praises in song, and the flute responds. (8) His spouse

Kleousa will stand forth as leading mourner: 'How hast thou left me solitary? and how do I suffer torments dire?' Deprived of her, her noble husband responds: 'In truth, do not weep, my spouse, nor vex (12) the souls of my brothers, since they also desired me, setting their happiness in the living God, that His will and pleasure is thus. And I render prayers to God, that he may rescue thee also quickly from the impious (persecutors), and that thou mayst leave me a fair reputation.'"

In line 15 Calder would restore *ἀ[χ]έων* instead of *ἀ[θ]έων*. Then the conversation concludes on the part of the wife, who prays for her husband's release from the torments of hell or purgatory. This may be right, and may (as he claims) furnish an early example of prayers for the dead:[1] but the end is hardly suitable. The wife, as chief mourner, is hardly likely to pray that her husband may be released from Hell and leave her a good reputation. The husband, as still living in his divine form (pagan custom),[2] may pray that she may leave to him her good reputation on earth. Moreover, I distrust such an overt example of praying for the dead and for his relief from purgatory at such an early time. A parallel is rare. The passage is of the old pagan type, Christianised slightly.

Line 2. Calder suggests *μέγα οὔνο[μα] ἔσχε*. This is a common tag; but in the text Λ is clear, suggesting that *μεγάλο* was the local form, as in modern Anatolian Greek, not *μέγα*: *μα* is omitted by a scribal error.

Line 4. *κτ* apparently for *κῖτε*, *i.e.* *κεῖται*: the text seemed to be simply *κτ* much blurred, but the meaning was clear to me as I copied.

Line 7. *ὑμενεῖ(ε)* from *ὑμεναιόω*, thy country sings thy marriage-song: death constitutes marriage to thy country. In pagan thought this would mean "unites thee, merged in the god and living as a god, to thy country, whose god thou now art." In Christian thought, "thy true country is heaven and thou art now married to it." Possibly something of both ideas survives in this striking phrase.

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[1] That is too completely isolated to be probable at this date, about 300.

[2] Pagan custom and pagan ideas, such as the Erinyes, survived in early Christian epitaphs, and were used as late as A.D. 390–400.

Line 6. οἰς is either error (of engraver?) for εἰς, or more probably οἰς means ὐς, bad spelling for ἰς. I noted the strange form in copying, as Ἀβραμ is the invariable name. εἰς and ἐν are interchangeable in Byzantine time. A friend prefers an adjectival form Ἀβραμοις, "in the Abramic bosom."

Line 7. Death and marriage are different forms of the same ceremony: hence the flute and the procession. This is a very important idea, which runs through much Anatolian and Greek literature.

Line 8. προγενήσεται, "shall take a front place" (Homeric). The personal name, as usual, is non-metrical. The composer often imitates Homer, showing where his teaching lay at school. See p. 104.

Line 9. The second πῶς was omitted by engraver: there is no room. μούνη(ν) as often shows loss of N in accusative.

Lines 8-15. The dramatic form is marked here: the wife "stands forth."

Line 1. This line forms one of a group of scraps (Le Bas, No. 1188) which Waddington numbers as a single inscription. They were obtained from the notebook of a travelling Greek at Konia (to which they are classed). From what I saw of the earlier notebooks of Dr. Diamantides,[1] an old man in 1901 (murdered in the winter of 1901–2 by assassins), I think that he was the unremembered and unnamed authority for that weird collection. On his medical rounds of inspection he jotted down the first line of an inscription whole or fragmentary. He had been at Kozlu, as I observed from other inscriptions. The pages of his notebooks often contained many such scraps of different inscriptions. Except Arundell and the elder Mordtmann, he was the worst professed copyist of inscriptions whose work I have known; but he was liberal and generous and interested in archaeology. We hired his house for four months in 1901; and, when he returned to it, he was murdered for the money he was believed to have in the house.[1] His many notebooks he showed first to my late friend Professor Sterrett in 1883, and afterwards in 1886 and 1901 to me, when they were much more numerous. Peace be to his memory.

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[1] Diamantides was the medical inspector of the Vilayet, a vast province which extended then from Adalia to the Haimane and to Nigde.

(2) At a village, Kuyulu-Zebir (Zebir, where the water is derived from wells, distinguished from Tcheshmeli-Zebir, where the water is supplied by fountains), I copied in 1905 a quaint dirge of the Christian period, dating about 340. Professor Calder again copied it in 1908: both of us in company copied it in 1910.[2] In the Greek there is every fault of spelling and metre that is possible. The date is fixed by the emphasis laid on the maker of the tomb. It was a pagan custom to give prominence to the maker of the grave: for such was his bounden duty, and he had in propriety to mention it emphatically. This pagan custom began to fall into disuse in Christian epitaphs about 340 to 350, for the feeling that prompted it was then growing weak. The inscription begins with a simple incised cross.

1, 2 *τιμῆς εὐστατίης μνημῖον αὔτικε ἦρεν*
2-4 *σὸς πόσι, σὲν ποθέων, σὲ τίτλῳ ἐνιγράψατο τῷδε*
4-6 *σὰς ἀρετὰς σά τε ἔργα σαοφροσύνην τε μεγίστη*
7-8 *'Ε̣μηλιανὸς ποθέων [μνή]μης χάρην ἐξετέλεσε[ν].*
8-10 *Μίκ[κη] τοὔνομ ἔην Μητροβίου ἀνδρὸς ἀρίστου*
10-11 *μητρὸς πιστοτάτης Λουλιανῆς διακόνω*
11-13 *ἔκουσα κασίγνητον Μητρόβιον τὸν πανάριστον,*

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[1] The Vali Pasha, Ferid, hunted down the assassins, reported to be two, a Turk and an Armenian. So we learned when we returned to Konia in the following year, 1902.

[2] My notebook of 1910 was lost during some journey in England about 1912 to 1918.

13-14 *ἠνορέῃ καλλίστη κὲ ἡλικίην ἐρατ̣ινή.*
14-16 *ἥδε κὲ ἐμ μεγάρυς λίπε τέκνυς πένθο [κ]α̣ὶ λύπ̣η*
16-17 *(ἡ)β̣ίον ἐκτελέσασα ὑ[κῶ] πάνχυ σαόφρων θανοῦσα.*

"A memorial of firmly fixed honour immediately (after thy death) was raised by thy husband : longing for thee he inscribed thee in this epitaph : Aemilianus, longing for thy virtues and thy household works and thy excellent prudence, wrought (the memorial) in memory. She was named Mikke, daughter of Metrobios best of men and of a mother most faithful Louliane a deacon, and she had a brother Metrobios most excellent, being (herself) most lovely in human beauty and charming of age. She, too, left in (our) mansion mourning and pain to her children, completing her life and dying chaste and true to the household."

In the dirges the beauty of the lost wife[1] and her excellence as a housekeeper are always emphasised. *ἔργα* are the works of the household.[2] Mikke was apparently more highly born than Aemilianus : her father, mother, a deaconess, and brother are lauded, but the husband's father is not named. Frequently, and almost regularly, the husband's father is mentioned, but the wife's father is not given : often in a family the sons are named, but not the daughters.

1. *εὐστατίης* for *εὐσταθίης*, firmly fixed. The personal name Eustathios shows that there must have existed this variant as an adjective beside *εὐσταθής*. Calder detected the adjective here.

2. *μνημῖον* to the detriment of metre; *-μίϊον* could not be used in Greek writing. *αὔτικε* for *αὔτικα*, forthwith, immediately after death : the haste of the burial is invariable, and the tombstone was placed immediately.

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[1] In l. 13 the word *ἠνορέῃ* is in good Greek used of men ; but the rest of the verse shows that it is employed more generally here of human beauty.

[2] They are often expressed on the grave-stone by a distaff and spindle and a cooking-pot, incised above or below the epitaph. See many examples in *Studies in East Roman Provinces*, pp. 30-90. So in the *Iliad*, see p. 114.

2. ΠΟCΙC, 3. CN: the *lapicida* omitted one of the successive letters CCEN: σεν for σε like ἐμέν for ἐμέ, and many other cases.

3. τε for σε would perhaps make better construction, and CE is perhaps an error of the scribe. A friend would correct CN to OC, but I cannot follow this bold path of alteration.

6. N at the end of the line may be lost by wearing, or by the common omission in accusative of first declension.

13. ἠνορέη is used of a woman, like Nerienis wife of Mars: yet Nero is Umbrian, ner, vir.

16. Double H is written only once, as often: λύπην has lost final N, and the next H is at the beginning of the following hexameter, though written in the same line on the stone.

It is only in the Roman period that examples of the natural human expression of rustic feeling can be quoted. A series of them might be added, and would be useful; but these must suffice at present. These afford specimens of simple rustic emotion, hardly educated except by a smattering of bad Greek. The schoolmaster's hand can be detected and the influence of Epic poetry. Out of such simple unpromising material Greek order and genius elicited real poetry.

III. The natives of the plateau of Anatolia in primitive time wrote nothing, but they wailed for the dead in terms like these examples taken from the fourth century after Christ; and they wail still, but less articulately.

The Old-English epic of *Beowulf*, which enshrines a tale far more ancient than the solitary MS. (about A.D. 1000), illustrates our argument that the dirges of the Roman period and of modern custom among Anatolian tribes go back to very primitive ways of life. This epic ends with the funeral rites of the old warrior, and the lamentation is led by the "aged lady" (probably his wife). This is an exact parallel to the ceremonial on p. 93 f. The leader of the mourning is the lady closest to the deceased, his wife or his mother.

CHAPTER X

THE ILIAD AND THE WAR OF TROY

Two questions suggest themselves to every reader. First, why was tradition so clear and certain that the war before Troy lasted so long as ten years? The *Iliad*, our oldest and best authority, and the unanimous tradition of the Greeks are agreed as to this long continuance. Yet even the *Iliad* does not describe the fall of Troy. The greatest hero of the Achaeans had to give his life after the poem ends, before the city could be captured; and it was captured only by stratagem. Its fortifications were impregnable.

Secondly, why does the poem end with a burial and a grave? That is characteristic of the later custom and the religious law of Asia Minor, as attested by innumerable inscriptions. Nothing is more true to the land and to its way of contemplating man and God (as we see that custom in Graeco-Roman time) than that the climax of the poem should be a grave, and that the last words should describe the rites of a burial.

It will prove most convenient to take the second question first, for it is easier to catch the Anatolian point of view, as revealed to us in the inscriptions of the Graeco-Roman period.

The greatest compliment which a man could pay his wife according to Anatolian ideas was that he should prepare a grave before her death for her. This was the fullest proof of his respect and affection. It was of course his duty to do so if she died, unless her everlasting home had already been made by his father or her father, who allowed her the right of interment in a grave which one or other had already constructed (or in certain districts cut out of the living rock). In a modern law-court the preparation of the grave and the quick ceremonial for a living healthy woman would be regarded as an indication that the husband was not unwilling to be rid of the wife. In ancient Anatolia the same action was the greatest sign of his love for her; and epitaphs often add that the grave was prepared by the living for the living as a proof of loving forethought.

Absolute contradiction in regard to fundamental ideas about human life[1] make it difficult for peoples to understand each other. What seems to the greatest of Anatolian or Old-Ionian poets to be the proper and necessary conclusion of the poem seems to us to be very difficult to feel in sympathy with or comprehend.

Cowper said, "I cannot take my leave of this noble poem without expressing how much I am struck with the plain conclusion of it. It is like the exit of a great man out of company, whom he has entertained magnificently; neither pompous nor familiar, not contemptuous, but without much ceremony." This explanation leaves us unsatisfied.

Where is the climax of the *Iliad*? To the modern mind the single combat of Achilles and Hector would seem to be so. The guardian of Troy was now dead, and the spirit of Troy had departed. The end was near, and a veil was nobly drawn over the last scene of anguish in a great city. A line would suffice to indicate the inevitable conclusion.

To the Anatolian mind, however, the grave must be the end. A hero could not be left unburied. The end must be the sepulchral feast. Thus, and thus only, could fitting honour be paid to the protector of the great city. Not even a grave, but a feast or a "wake" was the proper end. See p. 117.

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[1] We may add "divine life," for the dead man becomes a god and his tomb was his temple.

As Pope renders the last lines of the poem :

> Assembled there, from pious toil they rest,
> And sadly shared the last sepulchral feast.
> Such honours Ilion to her hero paid,
> And peaceful slept the mighty Hector's shade.

The funeral feast was usually held at the grave ; but an attack from the Greeks was dreaded, and scouts were posted to report any assault or approach of the enemy. The ceremonies had to be curtailed as much as possible. It is remarkable that nine days were free to the Trojans to make the funeral pyre, and pile the stones over the grave. Did the Greeks for once, under the dominant will of Achilles, show some chivalry, a modern quality notoriously wanting in their character? The Trojans, at any rate, did not believe that, for they had watchers to report any movement among the Achaean soldiers.

The end of the poem, therefore, is drawn from pure Anatolian ideas of proper life.

It is remarkable that the heroes are supposed never to have come face to face during that long war. Helen must point out in Book III. from the walls of the city, and mention by name, Ulysses, Ajax, Idomeneus. The rest she knows but refrains from enumerating, because she is looking in vain for her own brothers Castor and Pollux, and wondering what had been their fate.

The war before the action of the *Iliad* begins must be understood as being occupied in distant engagements, with forays to cut the communications which Troy had maintained ; and it was only slowly that the battle was concentrated in the plain of Troy. That fact needs some consideration. Troy was essentially a robber city, levying dues on trade, but not being geographically a commercial city. It was not a centre of roads, nor a place to which traders would naturally come.

Hence arises the long duration of the Trojan War ; that is a big fact, and needs some plain thinking. Trade was at a standstill, and

Greece, a barren rocky country for the most part, had to live by trade. A ten years' effort implies great expenditure of men and provisions for food and drink and fighting in many ways that are not even mentioned in the tradition or in the *Iliad*. The Greeks could not live and work or fight without wine to stimulate them. Every battle, every foray costs lives, yet the numbers of the army must be maintained. In ordinary course of human things, there must be deaths from natural causes among such a number. The Achaean army could not live off the enemy's country, which was not in their possession. The Trojans were far safer in Troy than the Greeks in their narrow camp. The natural increase in the population of Troy continued : boys at the beginning of the war were fighting in the ranks at the time when the *Iliad* opens. There was no such natural increase among the Achaeans ; they had not brought families with them.

To take the Catalogue of the Ships and mariners in Book II. Does it mean the number at Aulis when the fleet assembled, or the number when the tenth year and the story of the *Iliad* began? "Ships are but boards : sailors but men." If the men were dying off in the ordinary way according to the usual average, so the ships were decaying, hauled up on shore and exposed to the alternation of fierce sun in summer and great cold in winter. Many ships which were seaworthy at Aulis were far from seaworthy after nine years, and required constant refitting, caulking of the seams, and so on.

We cannot answer these questions ; there is no information ; such details are beneath the dignity of history ; but such are the facts. The war of Troy is a real fact of history ; but we cannot write its economic history.

There are some hints about sources of supply. The Greeks had halted at Lemnos and had feasted there, before making their first descent on Troy, *Iliad* viii. 230 f. They knew that in Lemnos there were abundant supplies of oxen and of wine. Then, before the war had actually begun, they boasted in true Greek style that every Greek was equal to a hundred and even two hundred Trojans. Hera, the steadfast friend of the Greeks, went to Imbros, *Iliad* xiv. 281. But to provision the army from those islands, even though Troy had no ships to impede the passage, meant expenditure of money and time; and the sea was not always quiet, as every sailor in those waters knows.

Yet Troy was involved in difficulties quite as great as those that beset the Greeks. In the circumstances, it could not save itself except by bringing in force to aid it from without. Allies were needed. Troy was not by nature a commercial city. No place could have been selected less suited for trade. It was essentially a robber city. It preyed upon the ships that sought to trade up the Straits; it exacted dues from them; it made these dues so prohibitive that the Greek nations, which sought to prosecute this trade, were forced to unite against the robber. The same happened later in 222–218 B.C., when the Byzantines tried to exact more than fair dues from the traders going up the Bosphorus, and so roused a coalition against themselves and a five years' war. The Byzantines were in a sense compelled to that suicidal course by the exactions of the Thracian tribes; but there is no sign of any such cause in the case of Troy. In his youth King Priam had fought on the banks of the Sangarios against the Anatolian Amazons. The way (not an easy road)[1] was open to him towards the inner country. Before his old age Priam had built up a robber city, and was fighting for his power and his life.

It must be borne in mind that Troy was not situated at a convenient crossing of the Hellespont. No one would ever dream of passing the Straits there. The Narrows at Tchanak-Kalesi, 18 miles up, form the one important passage of the great salt river in its lower course. The importance of Troy lay in the fact that it commanded absolutely the place where traders ascending the Hellespont must naturally lay up. These traders came from the Aegean Sea : they were the old Ionians, the Achaeans, the Achivi.

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[1] It seems to be implied in Pausanias x. 31. 7.

The Greek traders, seeking entrance to the riches of the Black Sea, were in the position that they must put an end to Troy, or at least so humble it that it could no longer impede their trade. They could not do this by open attack. There was, however, another obvious way. Troy, though not naturally a commercial city, was a big city for that age, with impregnable fortifications, full of wealth acquired in the past days of peace. But money is of no use except to purchase luxuries or dainties. Troy was not content to be a comfortable town living on its own agriculture and its small but fertile land. Possessing wealth, it attracted trade. Merchants came to it with wares to sell. During the war the city acquired allies. Traders from the east and the south, having once established a commercial connexion, were unwilling to have this connexion disturbed or broken.[1] They had a good market open, and they were not eager to destroy their market. Thus in spite of nature Troy became the resort of traders ; and, while it is difficult to make a market, it is equally difficult to break it up again and to destroy established channels of commerce.

Hence Troy depended on allies and on trade to feed itself and its allies. Walter Leaf even hints at "mercenaries." That is, after all, quite probable, though it does not sound well in an epic poem. Some of the "allies" were paid with the hoarded gold of Troy. All required food. We never learn where the Trojan allies camped. That they could all be accommodated in the city is obviously impossible ; but there was room under the safety of the walls far from the limited range of the Greek forces. Yet even this seems hardly consistent with the pursuit of Hector by Achilles round the walls.

Allies of Troy and a catalogue of these allies form a necessary part of the history. How or when the catalogue was composed is a different question.

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[1] The Thracians were a barbarous people until Rome civilised them, and there seems to be no sign of commerce between Troy and Thrace.

Dr. Leaf rightly says, in his *Troy*, chapter vi., that, for such a large city with many allies gathered to aid it, trade in food and the other necessaries of life and of war was essential. Even a "robber city" must develop some trade. It had taxed the sailors and ships that sought to enter the Black Sea, and accumulated "much gold"; but it would starve unless it could use its much gold. It must attract trade; but this trade was artificial. The long war, and the Greek wide reaching forays, and "the hiring of mercenaries," wasted its life-blood; there was no fresh supply coming in. The Achaeans could not capture the city by battle; but they wore it down by a long war of ten years.

Accordingly the ten years' duration of the Trojan War is an important fact. It proves that the struggle was a war of attrition. Neither side could win in "the stricken field." The powers of the two sides were too nearly balanced. Zeus must hang out from heaven the scales of justice. Man cannot decide. Justice and right must be determined by the gods,[1] or rather by the power which is supreme over gods and men, the sense of right and justice, Necessity or Nemesis.

Walter Leaf points out well, in the sixth chapter of his *Troy*, how equally balanced the Trojan War was. The Greeks had not an army sufficient to invest, or even to besiege the city in the literal sense. There is a war, but not a siege. The fighting takes place in the open plain. There is no attack on Troy the city: the Greek army was not strong enough. In *Iliad* vi. 433 ff. Andromache recalls to Hector's memory that an assault on the city had been thrice made and had failed. The *Iliad* relates the events of the time when this inability had been fully recognised. It is the Grecian camp that is in danger and is saved with difficulty. The *Iliad* does not even refer to any defeat of the Trojans in the open field as having ever taken place. The plain between Troy and the sea is barely closed: the Trojans cannot use it, but the Greeks also cannot use it freely. Only a strong armed force can traverse it safely.

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[1] Compare p. 56 f. above.

The Narrows about Sestos and Abydos, beside the modern town of Tchanak-Kalesi, formed the really critical point in the navigation of the Hellespont, and there is no sign that the Greeks ever penetrated so far. They lay in their camp, and the Trojans lay in their city. Until the Greeks commanded the Narrows, they could not invest or surround Troy, or cut off its communications.

Andromache entreats Hector to act on the defensive.

> That quarter most the skilful Greeks annoy,
> Where yon wild fig-tree joins the wall of Troy;
> Thou from this tower defend the important post;
> There Agamemnon points his dreadful host
> That pass Tydides, Ajax, strive to gain,
> And there the vengeful Spartan fires his train.
> Thrice our bold foes the fierce attack have given
> Or led by hopes, or dictated from heaven.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Stay my Hector here, and guard his Troy.

But Andromache entreated in vain. Hector would fight nobly and die in the field. In the *Iliad* there is no beleaguering of Troy. It is the Greek camp that is assaulted, the wall is breached, and the ships are in imminent danger of being burned. The besiegers are almost destroyed by a determined attack made by the besieged enemy. Such is the scene amid which great part of the *Iliad* lies.

It is true that the poem begins with the terrible pestilence, which was the natural result of the total neglect of sanitation, while the Greek army was cooped up in their narrow camp. Other similar examples have been given in Chapter III. The pestilence began with mules and dogs, and then attacked the soldiers. It was some quick form of plague and lasted nine nights. The Greeks search their conscience to find where lies the sin. How have they offended the god Apollo, who is slaying them with his arrows? The last thought in their minds is a medical reason. Achilles calls a council of the chiefs, and proposes to leave the fatal shore, but first to consult a prophet who can tell the reason—

> But let some prophet, or some sacred sage,
> Explore the cause of great Apollo's rage,
> Or learn the wasteful vengeance to remove
> By mystic dreams, for dreams descend from Jove.

Then "Calchas the wise, the Grecian priest and guide," who knew the present and the future and the past, expounds the situation and the cause. The Achaean king had scorned Chryses, the priest of Apollo, and refused the priest's offer of ransom for his daughter Chryseis, whom the king had enslaved. The priest and the priest's daughter bear the name and represent the god. This insult to the god has been the sin, and the sin must be confessed and expiated. The daughter of the priest must be released without ransom: and a hecatomb must be sent to propitiate the god. The people suffer for the sin of their king.

This is the regular accepted course of the numerous "Confessions," which remain in inscriptions of the Roman period near certain great centres of the old Anatolian religion. The individual suffers some injury or disease or loss; he searches his conscience, and remembers some sin against the god or the goddess; he makes public confession and atonement: and thus propitiates the offended deity; the god accepts the atonement; the sin is forgiven; the punishment ends, and the inscription records the whole course of punishment, sin, and atonement as a warning and example to others not to offend the god.

Thus the *Iliad* begins with a purely Anatolian religious action, and ends with another. The main mass of the poem is occupied with the consequences of the initial action, due to the pride, the quarrels, and the bravery of individual heroes. The people play no part. There is no democratic spirit in the Achaean host.[1] The subjects do what they are told by their special lords, and by their overlord Agamemnon.

It is characteristic of the unchanging East that the captive Chryseis, daughter of Apollo's priest, is praised by Agamemnon not merely for her beauty but for her skill in the works of the household; and the same word (*ἔργα*) is used to designate these works by the "king of men," as in late Phrygian dirges, where the husband laments the loss of his wife (see p. 103).

Modern discovery through excavation has convinced the world that under the heroes of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* there lies some reality and truth. The massive walls of Troy and their situation prove to every student of history that looks for facts, and does not content himself with mere theory, that a great event, now by us called the Trojan War, occurred about 1200 years before Christ. Such walls would not have been built without a purpose. Their scale is astonishing even to modern minds; but, regarded in their true historical perspective, they indicate the determination conceived by some one with a big plan in his mind. The walls were a marvel to later generations; only divine aid could have constructed them: they proved that no ordinary men could have made such a work. The gods, therefore, were called in by mythopoeic fancy to be the constructors of those fortifications.

This fact, a discovery due to Schliemann, has changed the point of view taken by modern scholars generally; but there are distinctions to be made, and modern ideas must not be applied to those ancient times without consideration. That the divine machinery is not literally true is obvious. Achilles may be a true hero, and Hector and Priam; but Apollo was not a real god, actively aiding the Trojans, and harnessed of old to the building of the walls of Troy, or restoring (as Pausanias says) the walls of Megara. Such elements in the tale are mythical; but even they conceal truth behind and underneath them.

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[1] Only Thersites stands for the commons; and he is described as a hateful and ludicrous figure.

Homer wrote about four centuries after Troy was destroyed. He wrote poetry, not history. We have to distinguish between the facts of 1200 B.C. and the poetry of 800 B.C. It must be done, and the distinction can be made; but it would be a wrong method to take poetry for pure history, just as it was formerly to assume that history was mere poetry and mythology: yet the latter was the fashion as late as fifty or a hundred years ago. Homer wrote what had come to be believed in his time regarding a great ancient event. He had been preceded probably by a number of bards, but he rewrote the tales that they and the mythopoeic fancy of Greece had read into trustworthy tradition and history. All this material he took and fashioned into the greatest of poems. Doubtless he believed it. The gods were to him as real as the heroes and the men and the walls of Troy, and the capture. He could never have written so great a poem unless he had believed it. Milton suffers in comparison with Homer in this respect. Milton wrote what was to him only allegorical and even sometimes fanciful. His only hero is Satan, a real person to him; but he knew that his machinery was largely a veiling of truth by fancy. Satan was (as Milton felt and knew) the being that, corrupting man and himself,

> Brought death into the world and all our woes,
> With loss of Eden, till one greater man
> Restore us and regain the blissful seat.

But there is in the poem much pure poetic conventional machinery. Milton fancied for poetry's sake that Satan

> Nine times the space that measures day and night
> To mortal man, he with his horrid crew
> Lay vanquished, rolling in the fiery gulf,
> Confounded, though immortal.

He is merely imitating Homer and Hesiod, to whom "nine days," or "nine days and nights," was a stock term, a round number, based on the division of the month into periods of eight days (as we in modern arithmetic count), though the ancient method of counting called such a period nine days.[1]

To Milton, the size of Satan is pure fancy and poetry: apart from Satan's head

> . . . his other parts besides
> Prone on the flood, extended long and large,
> Lay floating many a rood; in bulk as huge
> As whom the fables name of monstrous size
> Titanian, or Earth-born, that warred on Jove.

This, and the following lines, which need not be quoted here, show that Milton is only following a stock Greek model, because such was poetry and poetic rule, not to be believed, because belief meant to him paganism. And likewise Satan's

> . . . ponderous shield
> Ethereal temper, massy, large, and round,
> Behind him cast; the broad circumference
> Hung on his shoulders.

So also

> His spear, to equal which the tallest pine,
> Hewn on Norwegian hills to be the mast
> Of some great ammiral, were but a wand.

These, and many more passages, were poetic fiction, intended to inspire in the reader's mind an idea of gigantic power. Milton believed fully in that enormous power; but his imagery is unreal, derived from literature, and not from life. Homer's descriptions and imagery were to him real, drawn from the facts of Asia Minor, pictures of life as he saw it (or, according to the story, had ceased to see it, when he became "the blind old man").

It is necessary to distinguish what Homer knew and believed in 800 B.C. from the real facts of 1200 B.C. Troy was captured, sacked and burned, as a menace and constant danger to trade; but the wooden horse (not mentioned in the *Iliad*), and gods or men fighting against gods and wounding one another, were invention. When we say that the story of the *Iliad* is a picture of history and truth, we must hold apart from this story the ancient Asiatic legend (as of the two hawks perched on a tree near the gate of Troy)[1] and the other machinery and legend, some more ancient than 1200, some built into "the tale of Troy divine" during the four centuries that separated Homer from the events that he describes.

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[1] In Homer often "nine days" is to be taken as a stock number, *e.g.* probably in *Iliad*, xxiv. 784.

Homer tells what he believed and had seen. What did occur at Troy must be studied by itself. We must always ask in regard to each detail, Is this the narrative of 800 B.C. or the fact of 1200 B.C.? Some of the latest and most advanced modern scholars mix these together, and assume the former is the latter.

The similes are taken from the life of Asia Minor. In Milton also the similes are often derived from his personal knowledge and sight, before he became blind. He introduces Satan's shield as poetic conventional machinery; but he says with truth and knowledge that the broad circumference hung on his shoulders

> . . . like the moon, whose orb
> Through optic glass the Tuscan artist views
> At evening from the top of Fesolé
> Or in Valdarno, to descry new lands,
> Rivers or mountains in her spotty globe.

NOTE (to p. 106).—In *Beowulf* (p. 104) the hero's adventures culminate in his burial: his corpse is burned, his warriors ride round the pyre, chanting his praises, the women lament. The poem ends on a minor key, as the *Iliad* does, and yet the end is the climax in both poems. In Milton, Satan is the hero in the sense that his rapid deterioration through sin and malignity is the chief subject of the poem. In his attempt to ruin man he ruins himself.

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[1] See above, Chapter VII.

CHAPTER XI

THE VARYING MOVEMENT OF ANCIENT TRADE IN WHEAT

It is useful in our attempt to understand the economic facts that produced the Trojan War to regard it in relation to the later stages of history. The great principle is that the navigation and trade of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles must never be left under the control of any city strong enough to stop the passage.

The present chapter attempts to show that the forces which control the movements of trade in the Aegean and the Levant are always the same, and that the varying facts of ancient times, 1200 B.C. and 200 B.C. alike, can best be judged by comparison with modern experience. The physical conditions of wind and sea are not more permanent than the conditions imposed by human nature and human needs.

The trade with the Black Sea exercised an influence on Greek history much greater than is generally recognised. The discovery of the Black Sea was equally epoch-making in early Greek history with the discovery of America in modern European history. One episode taken from the Hellenistic period forms the subject of this paper.

Polybius, iv. 38. 4, describes this trade as it was carried down from the Pontus past Byzantium about 220 B.C.,[1] and his description has some remarkable features. He says that in respect of the necessaries of life the staple articles of trade were cattle and slaves. There were also brought down to the Mediterranean lands, honey, wax, and salt fish in quantity, which served the comfort of life. From the Greek seas and lands there were carried back to the Pontic lands oil and wine of all kinds; wheat was carried sometimes in one direction, sometimes in the other, according to need; the need presumably varied according to the character of the harvest in the respective countries, and the price at which wheat could be sold in the respective markets. Polybius merely states facts and not economic causes.

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[1] It is an error to regard his description as true of all ancient time. The flow of trade varied with times and circumstances.

The distinction which Polybius draws between necessaries and comforts does not in any proper sense correspond to our distinction between necessaries and luxuries. Luxuries were not in his mind or his classification. Luxuries also were transported from the Black Sea to Greece: *e.g.* carpets and beautiful articles of Oriental workmanship were brought from the eastern ports, especially Trapezus. Bread was a necessary, salt tunny fish or honey was a relish or comfort (*ὄψον*). Polybius thinks chiefly of food, and his dichotomy is between articles without which life is impossible and those which make life more enjoyable. Wax and slaves are the only articles, not serving as food, that he mentions. His division corresponds roughly to our distinction between trade in bulk and trade in articles which were of great value in comparison with their weight.

There are some surprising features in this list. Live stock were carried, cattle and slaves. That slaves are a necessary, but fish a relish or mere comfort, is typical of the ancient view. The slaves came largely from the Colchian or Scythian lands, but Preller is right in suggesting[1] that they were in part Cappadocian slaves brought to the Black Sea coast and shipped from such harbours as Sinope, Amisos, Trapezus.[2] I may quote on this subject my friend

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[1] Preller, *Ausgew. Aufs.* pp. 441 ff.

[2] Bithynian slaves, too, are mentioned as a feature of Roman city life (Catullus, x. 146, Juv. *Sat.* vii. 15), where they often were set free and became *equites*, but did not know what kind of shoes they ought to wear. Bithynian slaves, however, would almost certainly not come down the Bosphorus, but direct from the markets of Nicomedia or Nicaea, the former on, the latter near, the Propontis.

Dr. Leaf, who in a letter written early in 1921 asks where the cattle were grown that came down the Bosphorus, for these must imply pastoral districts bordering on the Black Sea; and "the whole south coast is excluded, as it is mountainous and forest-covered. The west and most of the north coast is deep soil, corn-growing land, not suitable for pasture. The only region which seems likely is the Steppe country on the north-east, Scythia in fact. If there was any considerable export of live beasts from thence, is there no other trace of it than the one word in Polybius? As for the slaves, the great source of them was, I fancy, the Circassian tribes, 'Colchis,' as ever since."

There is little to add to Dr. Leaf's statement of the difficulties. Scythia was the great pastoral country, but it does not follow from modern facts that the deep soil of the north and west coast of the Pontus was used at that time exclusively for wheat-growing. Grass would grow there as well as wheat; and the problem with barbarian or half-civilised peoples is to induce or force them to grow wheat to a larger extent than is needed for their own food. This problem used to be mentioned as an important factor in the produce of Anatolia about fifty years ago, when I was beginning to know something about the country. The account given to me was that no Turkish village would grow more than it thought sufficient for its own food, unless its inhabitants were in debt and had to face the problem of paying interest on loans.[1] It was an unhealthy system, liable to be much abused by money-lenders, and in this economic fact, and the human nature which caused it, was based a growing feeling against the money-lending class, who were mainly Christians. The problem of Anatolia and of the terrible massacres had its origin, not in religion, but in economic facts;[2] and the solution of the problem has been interfered with to a certain extent by the well-intentioned efforts and kindness of charitable people, who treated the problem as one of religious persecution and neglected the real cause. The Anatolian peasants were always ready to work, but there was no work at their own home by which they could earn money, and it was necessary for the young men to go to Smyrna or Constantinople to earn a few pounds by porterage or other simple work, after which they returned to their own village. Any occasional work offered to them, as in an extension of the railways or an archaeological enterprise, was an economic boon to the country and the people.

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[1] Farming in much more highly civilised countries is largely run on borrowed money. Debt was incurred by Turkish villagers mainly for family maintenance, especially marriage festivals.

[2] The massacres did not spring from popular feeling (for the peasant Turk

Very similar was the situation among the ancient people of the south Russian lands. They preferred the pastoral life to agriculture, and accordingly the rich corn-growing land was probably used to feed the cattle that were exported to the Greek lands, where cattle could not be fed in sufficient number.

Dr. Leaf's suggestion about the slaves who were brought down the Bosphorus, that they were Colchians, and that the trade was the same which has existed throughout history until the present time when those slaves pass under the name of "Circassians," is interesting and instructive. He puts in a new light a fact which I had never rightly understood, viz. that the trade in beautiful and dangerous Colchian women existed in ancient time; Medea is the prototype and the first known example of such women slaves, princesses in their own country;[1] but this trade would hardly be called a trade

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submits to almost all things patiently): they were a government device to procure work and pay for the Moslems by getting rid of the Christian workers, a useless and ruinous plan.

[1] Where this trade exists, the tribal chief or king is not exempt; rather he takes advantage of his position to get the best price for any suitable daughter, if he has one. I have seen and heard the facts among the Western Kurds of North Galatia (the Haimané) and the great plains round and especially west and north-west of Lake Tatta. By abducting Medea, Jason was defrauding her father of her price.

in necessaries even by the Greeks. The slaves in the Black Sea trade, according to Polybius, were necessaries, and in any case the Colchians were only a small percentage of the total number. Colchian or Circassian women slaves were not numerous, but they exercised an influence out of all proportion to their numbers. They were doubtless known popularly as "Scythian," a term used very vaguely by the Greeks.

The trade in live cattle[1] is hardly in keeping with the current modern conception of the small size of the Greek trading-ships. We must be prepared to admit that in the maintenance of the Pontic trade the construction of ships was profoundly influenced and improved, and that, instead of the small ships of earlier time, much larger ships were required and constructed. Lucian gives a remarkable description of the immense size of a ship engaged in the Egyptian corn trade, which was by mischance and ill winds carried to the harbour of Piraeus in the earlier part of the second century A.D. There is no reason to think that the fabrication of such very large ships was due entirely to Roman skill and Roman needs. In all probability it was the Greek shipwrights that gradually learned through the centuries how to construct ships larger and larger, until they had attained the skill to build one of such size as Lucian describes. Already in the year A.D. 57 St. Paul was carried from Myra towards Rome in a corn ship of Alexandria, evidently one of the regular vessels engaged in the trade between Egypt and Rome. There were 279 people on board the vessel.[2] While we are taking into consideration the character of this ship, which was not intended to carry passengers, but cargo, and which undoubtedly was in the Roman imperial service, engaged in provisioning Rome and managed according to the supreme orders of the imperial control of international (or rather inter-provincial) trade, we must recognise that mere passengers would be very few on board and would be allowed only if they were connected with the imperial service. It was in this way that St. Paul (with his two friends, Luke and Aristarchus, masquerading as his attendants and slaves) was on board the ship with other prisoners who were being carried to the imperial city for trial or for punishment; but the vast majority of the 279 human beings on board the ship must have been employed in the navigation and constituted the regular crew; the prisoners were a mere handful, say thirty to fifty at the outside, with a few guards.[1]

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[1] *θρέμματα* cannot be restricted to sheep: cattle also were needed as food.

[2] The reading 79 is incorrect.

Miss Ramsay points out to me two records of the transport of large animals: (1) in 430 B.C. a force of 300 cavalry was transported from the Piraeus to the north-east coast of Peloponnesus. As Thucydides says, this is the first time that horses were carried on a great scale in ships.[2] The important thing for our purpose is to observe that this represents a stage in development of freight-carrying by sea. It was a makeshift operation hurriedly executed by transforming existing ships, and it was adapted to the quiet waters of the Saronic Gulf and to a very short voyage; but it was a step; and a navigating nation which makes one step is likely to make more progress. The hastily tinkered up triremes of 430 mark a stage: the vessels built for this special trade in cattle before 220 B.C. mark a much more advanced stage. Incidentally it is worthy of note that it was through the pressure of war that the first noteworthy step in live transport was taken by Greeks.

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[1] James Smith, in his *Study of the Voyage of St. Paul*, one of the most remarkable and illuminative books on the possibilities and conditions of Roman sea-borne trade, reckons that the tonnage of the Alexandrian vessel there mentioned by Luke must have been, according to modern methods of computation, not less than about 4000 tons, and apparently that which Lucian describes was larger, even if we allow for rhetorical language in his account. Yet Lucian is describing facts, not romancing or inventing (as some writers have assumed).

[2] Thuc. ii. 56. The force of the assertion may be whittled down (as Poppo does) in order to bring it into conformity with Herod. vi. 95, but perhaps Thuc. intentionally contradicts Herodotus; and the Greeks were apt to depreciate Asiatic inventiveness, and exalt their own.

The Athenian experiment in the carrying of horses and cavalry by sea to operate at an unexpected point on the enemy coast looks like a new idea struck out in the pressure of war; but, if so, it shows that Europe then (as now) was unwilling to study, or to learn from, Asia.

(2) Herodotus, vi. 95, mentions that the Persians used horse-transports to convey their cavalry from the Aleian Plain in Cilicia to Ionia, and thence across the Icarian Sea from Samos by Naxos and Delos and other islands of the Cyclades to Marathon, 490 B.C. It is a suggestion of Herodotus that this course was preferred to the coasting voyage along Thrace in order to avoid the danger of rounding Athos; but this suggestion may merely result from his failure to understand the Persian plan of campaign. Taking the facts as they are known and disregarding hypothetical explanation of the facts, we may fairly say that, inasmuch as the result was a sudden blow at an unexpected point on the enemy shore, it implies an intended strategic plan conceived by the able Persian king. The terror of Athos had nothing to do with the transporting of the Persian cavalry from Cilicia to Samos; and it is not too wild a supposition that the easy voyage from Samos to Marathon, island by island, across that quiet summer sea, was a scheme of war, not due to fear of Mount Athos and the sudden fierce winds that sweep down from it on to the water.[1]

Rather the inference may fairly be drawn that the Phoenicians had worked into practice the idea of transporting live-stock by sea, and that Darius had turned this device to his own purpose in war, so that he might fall suddenly on the disunited and inharmonious parties which were struggling for power in Attica, and of which one was acting in collusion with the Persians. In this case, however, the unexpectedness of the attack operated in favour of the Athenian patriots, who had the opportunity of striking a decisive blow while the opposite party was still unprepared.

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[1] In passing it may be noted that the harbours of the Aleian Plain were Aigaiai and Megarsos, the latter at the mouth of the Pyramos, and used as the port of Mallos. Megarsos is undoubtedly meant here; Mallos was at that date the great Cilician Greek city, as its coinage shows. Tarsos could hardly, even by an inexact recorder of the information gathered in Greek harbours, be connected with the Aleian Plain, which is mentioned: cp. *H.G.A.M.* p. 288.

The invention of horse-transports (*νῆες ἱππαγωγοί*) was older than the Empire of Athens, and like many other very important discoveries, belongs to Asia, *e.g.* the domestication of animals was probably or certainly achieved in Asia.

The character of this Pontic trade is illustrated by Strabo's description of the trade at Aquileia (as Miss Ramsay again points out to me). Aquileia was the centre and market for the exchange of products between the tribes on the Danube and the Italian merchants. The latter brought sea products and wine in wooden casks, which they loaded on wagons, and oil, while the Illyrian traders brought from the Danube regions slaves, cattle for food, and hides. There is one difference, of course, that the cattle at Aquileia were brought to market by a long land route, while Polybius describes cattle which were carried by sea: but the point lies in this, that the same articles are needed in the two cases, and need creates a means for satisfying it by trade and exchange of commodities. Italy and the Greek lands generally were unsuited for growing cattle for the market, and they had to seek this class of cattle from more suitable lands on the north-east. The wine from the Italian vine-growing lands was carried in wooden jars or casks to avoid breakage at sea, and breakage would be quite as great a danger on the springless wagons on which they were loaded for the long land journey. There is no proof in this passage of Strabo that the oxen and slaves were carried by sea from Aquileia southward; but the general resemblance of the trade in the two cases is indubitable, and in the face of this analogy the reading and meaning of *θρέμματα* cannot be doubted in Polybius.[1]

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[1] Some doubt has been expressed as to the reading *θρέμματα* in Polybius, but the analogous case in Strabo assures the text.

If it is admitted that the trade in cattle and slaves was conducted in larger ships than we have been accustomed to think about as used by the Greeks, most of the other items mentioned by Polybius are what we should expect. The tunny fish has always been a staple food in the Greek lands. The young tunnies, hatched out in the Sea of Azoff,[1] very quickly poured in enormous shoals towards the *torrentis ostia Ponti*, and were caught in vast numbers and preserved. The staple food of the Athenian in the time of the Athenian Empire was bread, made from wheat grown in South Russia, with salt tunny as a relish.

The most remarkable feature in Polybius's account is that wheat is described as moving sometimes towards, and sometimes away from, the Pontus. This is in apparent contradiction with the facts of the fifth century B.C. The power of imperial Athens was founded upon the permanence and certainty of the trade on which that large and overgrown city depended for food.[2] Hence the command of the peninsula of Gallipoli was a vital factor in the existence of Athens and in the Peloponnesian War (as it was in 1915 during the Great War, when the failure to get command of that peninsula was a serious and almost fatal factor). An interesting side-light is thrown on this subject by the remarks of Herodotus, vii. 147, that three corn ships coming down the Hellespont, bound for Aegina and the Peloponnesus, were held up by the bridge of boats thrown across it by Xerxes in preparation for his invasion of Greece in 480. Xerxes, however, allowed them to pass, saying that they would in the long run be useful to him.

In those circumstances Pontic wheat moved only south past Byzantium. Now, according to Polybius, in 220 B.C. the situation of trade was changed in this respect since the fifth century. This is the problem, and a wider survey of the character of trade and its variation through the centuries is necessary for the right consideration of the question: How could it ever be a paying operation to carry wheat north past Byzantium to the Black Sea coast lands?

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[1] See the account given by Preller, *l.c.*, and Robinson, *A.J.P.* xxvii. p. 140.

[2] At an earlier time cities like Aegina and Megara were equally dependent on Black Sea trade: those cities could not feed their increasing population except by sea-borne supplies, necessarily from the Pontus, for there was then no other source, as Egyptian trade in bulk did not yet exist. The Pontus fed and made Greece.

My late friend, Professor Sterrett of Cornell, has, in one of his earliest publications, pointed out as a strange fact that in the "fabulously wealthy" valley of the Maeander it was occasionally necessary to import corn from Egypt.[1] This ceases to seem strange when it is contemplated as an incident in the back-and-forward flow of trade in the Eastern Mediterranean. As has just been stated, about 220 B.C. wheat was sometimes brought from the Black Sea to the Greek world and sometimes carried back from the Levant waters to the Black Sea lands; *i.e.* there was an uneasy balance of production and price. In the Roman period, to which Professor Sterrett refers, the emperors were charged with the regulation of inter-provincial trade throughout the entire Mediterranean world. Government regulation of trade in modern times has not proved very satisfactory (as *e.g.* since it came into operation during the Great War); but under the Roman Empire it seems to have worked well, because there was one supreme head to pay the penalty if the regulation was unsuccessful. The Roman emperor had as his first duty to maintain a sufficient supply of food for the vast city of Rome, and thereafter for Italy and the Empire.[2]

The explanation of the "strange fact" mentioned by Professor Sterrett is that in the Maeander valley in ordinary years greater profit was made by cultivating and selling abroad figs and other produce than by growing wheat. If we set apart as exceptional cases two overgrown cities, Rome (with Italy) during the imperial period, and Athens with Attica during the fifth century B.C. (when Athens was pursuing an imperialist policy), the ancient economic principle was that each country should grow enough food for the support of its own citizens, and cultivate the rest of the land for purposes of trade and interchange of comforts and luxuries with other countries :[1] *e.g.* the Maeander valley has always been renowned for its figs.[2] These were grown not merely in sufficient quantity to supply the population of the valley and the hills around, but also to export. Proof of such export is not always easy to obtain, because ancient historians assumed the general economic situation as familiar to their readers, and would have regarded it as beneath the dignity of history to discuss and tabulate the economic system of interchange of commodities. A story, however, which is told by Cicero, shows that the figs of Asia Minor were exported to Italy already in the first century B.C. at a time when sea transport was very far from being so well managed as later under the Roman emperors and earlier under the various dynasties of Greek or half-Greek kings. Crassus passed through the streets of Brindisi on his way to the East; and after his defeat and death it was remembered that he had been there warned by Divine Providence not to embark on this journey (Cicero, *Div.* ii. 40. 84): in the street he was met by a dealer in figs who was calling out his wares, "Cauneas," *i.e.* figs of Caunus, and the word "Cauneas" approached closely to the pronunciation of the three Latin words, *caue ne eas*, "do not go."[3]

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[1] *Ath. Mitt.*, 1884, p. 109. He quotes other epigraphic statements to the same effect, *C.I.G.* 2927, 2930, etc.

[2] The imperious necessity of supplying Rome itself was so enormous a task that historians sometimes forget the general duty of regulating and maintaining the food supply of the whole Empire.

In ways like this we become aware of a trade in Asia Minor figs being conducted in the streets of an Italian town; and the same was the case with other products and delicacies in which certain districts abounded and in which other countries desired to participate.

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[1] Most of the Greek lands and islands, and considerable part of Italy, were unfit for wheat-growing.

[2] They are now called Smyrna figs, because they are shipped from Smyrna; but the figs grown at Smyrna will not bear export, a fact which is locally explained by the method of fertilisation of the fruit.

[3] It is to be noticed, also, that Caunus was the harbour of export, not Smyrna as at present. This change touches the wide question of West Asian export harbours in different ages.

Now in the Maeander valley, fertile as it is, the wheat harvest is not always up to the average; but in case of need there remained always the reserve of corn from the corn-producing countries, Egypt and South Russia (Tunisia or Algeria was too distant). The produce of Egypt belonged to the private revenues of the emperor, and the population of Egypt, with the exception of the city, Alexandria, was practically composed of the servants (almost serfs) who cultivated the emperor's lands. By permission from the imperial administration part of the produce of Egypt (which was regularly required for the support of the immense city, Rome) could be diverted to supply the deficiency in some other part of the Empire. This supposes a very highly developed system of exchange of produce, and the imperial administration was engaged on a very great scale in regulating transmarine trade throughout the Empire.[1] Many other facts might be marshalled to illustrate this general principle of imperial trade-control; but that becomes part of our present subject, only because it tends to show how the wealth of Asia Minor under the Romans was maintained. The occasional failure of a wheat harvest in Asia Minor, necessitating foreign supply, does not prove poverty or even scarcity: it merely is an incident of the world market, indicating the flow of produce through the Empire.

It must, as I think, be inferred from Polybius that the flow of trade in wheat had altered between 400 and 220 B.C. While imperial Athens was a very large city, swollen in numbers by a large population of resident strangers, *metoikoi*, and the capital of a great Aegean Empire, it drew supplies of corn steadily and regularly from South Russia.[2] The voyage to Greece was easy; the current and the prevailing north winds carried the corn ships rapidly from the cold Euxine through the Straits to the quiet, warm Aegean Sea, where the winds are regular. But Athens must have diminished greatly in size during the two centuries that followed the Peloponnesian War. Its wealth was dissipated; it was no longer the great centre of trade; the foreign resident population gradually left it; Delos and Rhodes took its place as centres of exchange and shipping.

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[1] It needed time to report to Rome the coming scarcity, and to transmit orders for the diversion of produce.

[2] Even before Athens became great, the same trade came along the same lines.

At the same time communication with Egypt was greatly stimulated. Several of the Ptolemies held possession for a time of parts of Asia Minor and fought with the Seleucid kings in Syria. According to the late Bishop Hicks, an excellent authority, there was probably at least one ship sailing every day from the East Aegean ports to Egypt in this period. There must have grown up a considerable export of grain from Egypt to the Aegean lands; and sometimes, in cases of scarcity at some point in the Black Sea, Egyptian wheat could compete even in the Pontic harbours with the produce of the north-east and north Pontic coasts.

It would appear that the wise and far-sighted policy of the Flavian emperors was anxious about the dependence of Italy for food on sea-borne corn, and this led to the much-discussed Edict of Domitian, a very able emperor (though not a safe companion for his entourage), discouraging or forbidding the cultivation of vines in Italy and ordering that the land should be devoted to growing corn. We do not know the details, and especially we do not know how far proper attention was paid by that emperor to the quality of the land which was to be thus reserved for agriculture, and its suitability for that purpose. We cannot say whether Domitian had regard to the fact that there is a great deal of hillside in Italy which is entirely unsuitable for corn and is admirably suited for vineyards. We do know, however, that there was included in the policy of the early Empire a general idea of developing the possible resources of Italy; schemes for reclaiming the marsh lands of Latium and Etruria were at least spoken about, and Claudius reclaimed for agriculture the soil that was overlain by the Fucine lake. These little facts which are recorded almost by chance are the indications of a definite view and policy cherished by the State department of the imperial household in control of the emperor himself; but such details were reckoned beneath the dignity of history and are rarely alluded to by a lofty-minded historian like Tacitus. Statius, *Silvae*, ii. 2, has a wonderful description of the improvements made by a great estate-owner at Sorrento on his own land. We cannot suppose that this owner was a solitary example of his kind. The improvement of Italy for the livelihood of men was a guiding feature of imperial policy from the time when Virgil wrote the Fourth Eclogue (40 B.C.) until Statius.

We have alluded to the accidental way in which information has come down to us about economic facts. The old historians tell little about social economy. It is only by chance, *e.g.* as having a certain bearing on the war of A.D. 69, that we learn how much a Roman regiment suffered from the close confinement and hardship of a long voyage on shipboard; a legion which had just arrived from Syria was a negligible quantity during that great contest. So it is with many of the really important things in ancient history. The historians record the vices or the virtues, the defeats or the victories of kings and emperors and great generals, but they leave unnoticed the things that really matter; and so *e.g.* we are indebted to a historian in another branch of history, but of real insight, Luke, for the only record of the immensely important fact that a series of regular census, taking place every fourteen years,[1] was instituted by Augustus (confirming and modifying the older Egyptian custom), and that this census system was extended to the Empire, and we infer that the administration of the Empire was based on the collection and tabulation of statistics about the man power of the Empire. So absurd did this statement of Luke seem that it was the derision of all modern historians of the Empire and almost all theological writers, except a few who mourned over the difficulty introduced into the Bible by a statement like this. A chance allusion by Pliny to the record of the age of a very long-lived individual at Bologna as confirmed by the entries in successive census, shows that the records were preserved, and if they were preserved they must have been classified.

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[1] Every fifteen years, according to ancient usage of language.

In the corn trade of the Levant world there must always have been uncertainty with regard to the coming harvest in the Pontic lands and in Egypt. The flow of wheat northwards or southwards depended on price ; and as the Greeks are always bold and skilful readers of the commercial future, much speculation was inevitable. Would it pay better to send corn north or south ? The problem was a difficult one, and early knowledge of the conditions in both the north and the south was necessary to detect when there was likely to be a chance of making money by carrying Egyptian corn so far. It must be remembered that the corn ships of Egypt had to contend with great difficulties. The voyage westward along the south coast of Asia Minor was always slow and difficult. The winds on the Mediterranean blow from the N.W. and W., and ships had to watch an opportunity of dodging along the coast from cape to cape as changes in the local breezes off- and on-shore permitted. The same prevalence of north-westerly winds in the open Mediterranean made it generally impossible to achieve the direct voyage north from Alexandria to the Karamanian coast by the west side of Cyprus, although it is quite obvious from the maritime notices in the book of Acts, and from general considerations, that the ships were in the habit of running direct south from Lycia to Alexandria ;[1] just as we know that already in the first century A.D. the Roman corn ships ran direct in a few days from the Straits of Messina to Alexandria, but often required months to achieve the return voyage, wintering at Phoenix in Crete[1] before risking the cross-sea voyage to Greece and Italy.

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[1] The course from Lycia or Sicily to Egypt, and the difficult return voyage, are treated in my article on "Communication in the First Century" in Hastings' *Dict. Bib.* vol. v.

Under the Roman Empire, as we shall see in the sequel, the imperial administration regulated the flow of trade in this staple commodity, but in the third and second centuries B.C. there was a comparatively free market, and it was left to the traders themselves to perceive where their interest lay. The Rhodian power was great, but there is no reason to think that the Rhodians had more than a commercial advantage due to skill and the favourable position of the island on the way between Egypt and the Aegean and Black Sea lands. Soon the Governments tried to regulate matters for the general good.

The Delian Confederacy seems to have been purely an association of mercantile States for their common advantage. Interchange of goods at those islands was convenient for the purpose of trade, and they were also well situated to get early news from both directions. The dearth "throughout the whole Empire," mentioned in the Acts xi. 27[2] and in a much misinterpreted inscription of Apollonia of Phrygia, must have been due to failure of the harvest in all the great wheat-producing lands, Egypt, Africa, and South Russia (not necessarily in the same year everywhere, but about the same time under Claudius).[3]

According to Polybius, then, wheat (which must have been Egyptian) was carried up sometimes against the currents and the winds of the great salt river (Dardanelles and Bosphorus) into the Black Sea. The historian is not describing the trade within the Black Sea between different regions of its coasts. He is simply stating the fact that in some years it was a sound commercial proposition to carry up wheat through the Bosphorus past Byzantium into the Black Sea, and in some years wheat was carried down. Doubtless, with the natural advantages of South Russia, with the winds and the currents to help navigation southwards, it would usually be cheaper for the Greek colonies (as *e.g.* the Thracian Hexapolis and Ionipolis and Sinope) to purchase corn from South Russia, and especially from the fertile lands of the Cimmerian Bosphorus; but in a year when Egypt produced an exceptionally large harvest and the east Pontic lands produced less than usual, the problem was how to deal with it, and we must assume on the authority of Polybius that in such a year the Egyptian corn could be sold cheaper than Black Sea corn in the Greek colonies near the entrance to the Thracian Bosphorus (*ostia ponti*). The whole problem then was one of a free market; and this would inevitably lead to speculation. The man who could detect early that Egyptian corn could beat Black Sea corn in those Greek colonies might make a large profit; but on the other hand no harvest is ever certain until it is garnered, and the speculator might find that he incurred a loss when he attempted to sell forward Egyptian corn on the Black Sea coasts.

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[1] Hence the advice of experienced sailors to sail on to Phoenix, in opposition to Paul's advice to remain at Fair Havens, was natural.

[2] Le Bas, Waddington, No. 1192. The inscription says, "throughout the whole world." Luke speaks more moderately, "over all the civilised world": *ἡ οἰκουμένη* was a term restricted in common usage to the regulated world of the Empire. No one in those "civilised" lands thought of including in their view the "barbarian" lands except the able Emperors.

[3] Famine is a complicated fact, not a simple one; where there is "world trade" (as in the Empire) the failure of one harvest is a mere incident altering the flow of trade. The effect of a bad harvest is felt only in the following year by the people, though dealers see earlier.

The navigation between the Aegean Sea and the Black Sea is governed by the facts of wind and current. The Black Sea receives a very large supply of fresh water from the great rivers of southern Russia, not to take into account such second- or third-class rivers as those of Asia Minor and the eastern coast, the Sangarios, Halys, Lycos and Iris, Phasis, and so on. On the other hand the Mediterranean receives no rivers carrying a great body of fresh water. Even the Nile and the Maeander and the Peneus are to be compared rather with the third-class rivers that feed the Black Sea than with the great rivers. The Nile is sometimes so low that it is possible to walk across it. So the Halys carries little water to the Black Sea; it is indeed often said to be unfordable; but I have crossed by a known ford in June.[1]

The rivers of the Adriatic and the west Mediterranean, Po, Rhone, etc., though larger in body of water, need not be taken into account in respect of the Aegean level, though they affect the surface currents of the west in conjunction with the slight change in level, less than an inch generally, produced by the tides.

Further, there is a very large surface evaporation on the Aegean Sea, which is exposed to the sun continuously for many months of the year. The Black Sea, on the contrary, is frequently enveloped in mist, and surface evaporation is small. Hence there is a tendency in the Black Sea to reach a higher level than the Aegean, and this difference in level, however small, must be counteracted by outflow from the Pontus through the Bosphorus to the Aegean.[2]

Moreover, the Black Sea is on the surface decidedly fresher than the Aegean owing to the much greater amount of fresh water that it receives from the rivers, and the deficiency in evaporation. The salt water, being heavier, lies at the bottom, and the salter water of the Aegean runs up the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus to the Black Sea as a deep current at the bottom in order to counterbalance the lighter fresh water which lies on the surface of the Black Sea. The fresh water must necessarily flow southwards, and the salt water northwards from the one sea to the other, and this double flow is always going on in the effort of nature to restore equilibrium.

Through all these causes there exists a double-flowing movement of the water, in that strange salt river that connects the Pontus with the Aegean Sea, a deep river flowing up and a superficial river flowing down ; in other words, a current of fresher water flowing from the Black Sea to the Aegean Sea at the surface and a current of heavier salt water in the reverse direction underneath ; and this double salt-water river flows on continuously in the never-ending struggle of nature to attain a balance.

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[1] We were guided by a native, who said it was a commonly used ford. Only at one point near the west bank, where the whole current swept down on the outer side of a curve, was the water deep, and for a moment I thought we should be swept away. I was wet and caught fever from the chill; but the native guide pulled up his clothes, which never touched the water.

[2] This outflow was well known in ancient times, and is alluded to by Juvenal as quoted already, *torrens Pontus*.

The superficial current varies in rapidity at different points. As it passes round some projecting cape it is concentrated in a strong current flowing as rapidly as six miles an hour or even more, and this current is thrown across the Straits until it impinges on the opposite bank lower down. The first need for sailors, therefore, was to learn how the current flows, and how to take advantage of it. There is a quaint example of misunderstanding of this current in the description given by Sir Walter Scott in *Count Robert of Paris*, where he tells how the soldiers of the First Crusade, after much trouble and negotiation with the Byzantine emperor, were assisted to cross the Bosphorus into Asia. Starting from Constantinople, the ships which were carrying them sailed up the Bosphorus some distance, and then put across towards the Asian side. This course is due to the current, which flows round a point on the European shore several miles above Constantinople and is there thrown across strongly towards the Asiatic side, while on the European side below that point the southward flowing current is at a minimum, or almost disappears. Even steamers have to pay attention to the current of the Bosphorus, as all can see in the case of the small passenger vessels which ply between Stambul and Scutari on the Asiatic side ; but to appreciate it properly one must take a boat or a sailing vessel and cross by such more primitive means. Sir Walter Scott, depending upon the narrative of pilgrims who had taken part in the First Crusade, understands, on the analogy of the seas with which he was familiar in the North, that this phenomenon is due to the tide, and that the ships, starting from the Golden Horn, took advantage of the north-flowing tide to go up some distance towards the Black Sea, and then, with the turn of the tide, came down towards the Asiatic shore.

Every fisherman on the Bosphorus knows the main facts regarding these currents, because he is making an experiment every time he drops a line into the water. For twenty or thirty fathoms near the surface his bait is drifted down the straits; but when it reaches a lower depth it is carried up contrary to the surface current; and he can thus anchor his boat by lowering a weight, which does not require to touch bottom. In some places he can even actually drift by the same means slowly upwards against the trend of the surface current.

No apology is needed for illustrating the military operations and the economic conditions of Greek history by those of modern or mediaeval war. The permanence and the inexorable nature of those conditions is thus established and illustrated. In my own personal experience I had to learn the facts by suffering. We were at Scutari for a few days on our homeward journey. On the day when we had to take the evening train from Constantinople to Buda-Pesth, I went in the morning to the Imperial Museum in Stambul, and in the later afternoon returned to Scutari and collected our impedimenta. Missing the steamer at Galata Bridge, I engaged a rowing boat (as we often did from Scutari for mere pleasure in coming from Scutari to the city). There was some reluctance on the part of the boatmen, but one man came forward, asking double fare, which after all was a small matter; and I was hurrying (as I thought). After 200 yards he turned back, refusing the hire. I found a new man and tempted him, being afraid of losing our train. He rowed up the European side a long way, while I sat fuming with annoyance as time passed, and urged him to cross and to hurry. When we had got well up stream, the boatman turned across towards the Asiatic side, and soon we got into trouble. The current was running down in a turbulent and rapid flow when we reached the middle of the Bosphorus, and the light boat danced and tossed under the influence of wind and the strong current. The next steamer from the Bridge to Scutari, which I had despised, passed us and nearly ran us down. We drifted rapidly down stream, and at last I told the boatman to land anywhere, as it was evident that he could not reach Scutari. I had to walk a long way to the hill-top where my wife was living at the American College for Women. No conveyance could be procured, as drivers congregate near the landing-stage, and I was approaching from the other side. However, we caught the last steamer and the train, in which our berths had been engaged and paid for. Thus I learned not to ignore the current of the Bosphorus.

Not merely is the current a cause of difficulty to ships attempting to pass from the Aegean to the Black Sea: the winds also are an even greater difficulty. From the colder regions of the Black Sea these blow very frequently down the course of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. Ships have to make their way against this prevalence of northerly breezes, sometimes strong, sometimes light. This difficulty continued to impede navigation until steamships came into use in the Mediterranean service, and it was so great that a scheme was under consideration about 1850 to make a ship canal across the narrow isthmus at Bulair, dividing the Aegean Sea from the Sea of Marmora, until the introduction of steamers did away with the need for a canal.[1]

Until the introduction of steamships into the Black Sea trade, these natural causes operated unchecked; especially square-rigged modern vessels were obliged to lie at anchor on the eastern (Asiatic) side above the entrance to the Dardanelles, practically on the strand which is called "the Camp of the Greeks," waiting until the winds blowing down from the Black Sea should change for a day or two to a sirocco from the south. Fore-and-aft-rigged ships were able to make their way much better, because they could frequently get round a projection in the coast ahead of them if the opposing wind shifted a point or two, while square-rigged vessels must wait a greater change. There was a story current between 1850 and 1860 that on one occasion such a vessel had to lie for three months before it could make its way up the Dardanelles.

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[1] This statement is quoted from an account by Mr. Knight, Vice-Admiral of the Harwich Yacht Club, of his own experiences in the Dardanelles about 1856.

The conformation of the respective coasts necessitates this. The steep rocky shore on one side forces ships to lie on the other. It is hardly possible even to land at the southern end of the Gallipoli peninsula, much less to lie up there.[1] Accordingly, Troy in one case, Byzantium in the other, was in a position to profit by the passing traders: up to a certain extent this was natural and legitimate. When Byzantium in 220 B.C., and Troy about 1200, tried to overtax the trade, the Greek states, for which this trade was necessary, allied themselves to resist the exaction.

On the other hand, in the Bosphorus at its southern end ships waiting for a wind must lie on the western (European) side in the Golden Horn or its entrance. They cannot lie at Chalcedon on the Asiatic side, where the current sweeps, rapid and strong, past the high rocky peninsula, and hence Chalcedon, founded earlier than Byzantium, was called "the city of the blind." It missed all the advantages that result from the anchorage of ships and the consequent control of the trade.

Byzantium could levy a toll and make other profit from the crews during their stay. Chalcedon occupies a very strong position on rocky ground rising straight from the water, and presented obvious advantages for the site of a first city in a strange land; but the founders were unable to foresee the advantages in the future of the other side, which also offers an easily defensible situation on the narrow peninsula between the Golden Horn and the Propontis.

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[1] This was one of the causes that produced the failure of the British Expedition to seize the Gallipoli peninsula. The French rightly saw that the Asiatic side was the proper scene of operations, and their contingent refused to participate in the disastrous British operations.

CHAPTER XII

HIPPONAX ON LYDIAN SCENES AND SOCIETY

A. The Royal Road through Lydia

The purpose of this chapter is to observe in a few cases the light that Hipponax throws on the condition of Ephesus, of Lydia, and even of Anatolia generally, about 600–500 B.C., and to suggest how much more might be done by a systematic study of the old Ephesian poet. The modern editions of the fragments should be set aside, because by so-called "emendations" (!) they divert attention from the important points. Hipponax was an Anatolian and Old-Ionian poet. He has been edited by learned scholars who see him through a European atmosphere which distorts the Eastern features, and their aim is to make him as like a European Greek as the difference of dialect allows; much evil can be done by ingeniously twisting and torturing the traditional text; and the editors have devoted their skill, learning, and ingenuity to this end, with quite remarkable success. Such an authority as Tzetzes in the Scholia that he himself wrote on his own poor compositions is far from good;[1] but at least he leaves Hipponax sometimes quite intelligible, whereas the learned modern editors have screwed and twisted the old poet until his meaning is lost, and some sham new meaning is forced into a mangled text, *disiecti membra poetae.*

Generally in Bergk's notes the text of the original authority is so hidden that one can only with difficulty discover it; but if one goes behind Schneidewin, or Bergk, or Crusius' re-edition of Hiller, and looks at the unadorned text of Tzetzes or other original authority, the meaning is fairly clear, provided that one does not continue to look through European-Greek binoculars badly focused on an Asian object. Yet each of those scholars has contributed something valuable occasionally. It is not my province to "restore" the text of the old Ephesian. My aim is to see what he tells about Asia Minor and the business of its great harbours in their relations with the Anatolian merchants who came down to trade there, a mixed and far from pleasing crowd: Quidquid agebant Asiani homines, votum, timor, ira, cupido, gaudia, discursus, nostri farrago capituli.

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[1] These so-called Scholia are really of the nature of modern "footnotes."

Hence my comments on each line are out of all proportion to the original text; but I wish to show what is implied in the text, and to illustrate it by modern experience in exploration. The old travellers are the most useful, because they were humbly exploring and learning. The modern travellers tell what they think or fancy, and omit all that they do not understand as unimportant; but the things omitted are often the most important.

To achieve our purpose, however, it is necessary to catch the words that fell from the poet's lips; and Tzetzes, etc., transmit them, not indeed accurately, but with some true "echo of the ancient strain"; whereas the sound is entirely lost in the pretentious volumes in which great scholars have mangled the Ionic talk and ribald jest, under which the listener can catch the grave and ominous sounds of the great contest between East and West, never ceasing since the war of Troy and likely to continue long. The text must be occasionally remodelled; but for the most part the process will be a recurrence to the old traditional words with slight changes, usually only of one letter.

A good example of this is found in the first fragment which I propose to study here: the text of Tzetzes, as printed by Cramer in

Anecdota Oxoniensia,[1] iii. p. 310, permits us to see a traveller walking along the Royal Road across Lydia and down to Ephesus, to observe how his road is marked by "signs" after the Anatolian fashion, and to gather some knowledge of episodes in the varying influence exercised by kings of the Khatti or Hittites on Lydia. We find that Tzetzes hands down an almost correct lettering of the text, in which, however, some wrong words have arisen from false division, made by ancient or modern scholars.

Cramer[1] used two MSS. of Tzetzes' *Treatise on Metres*, one at Paris, one in Oxford. As he says, the Paris MS. is the better of the two; but in one case at least it is worse, for it gives a line of five feet, as I saw when I consulted (through my old friend S. Reinach) the leading authority on Palaeography in Paris. In the Oxford MS. I found the true text.

Behind Tzetzes, there lie two older MSS. of Hipponax; one was used by Diogenianus, from whom Hesychius adapted his Lexikon, or rather by the originals of Diogenianus, viz. Pamphilos and Zopyrion: Diogenianus lived in the first half of the second century after Christ; Pamphilos flourished in the first century B.C., and Zopyrion, whose work was completed by Pamphilos, was earlier. A different MS. of Hipponax was the origin of the text as known to Tzetzes, who lived in the first half and the middle of the twelfth century. Whether he himself read Hipponax, or quotes that poet from the quotations of others, is doubtful; but his statements about his own great learning may imply a claim to have read such poets as Hipponax and Pindar himself; and there were doubtless copies at Constantinople accessible to him. So far as the evidence goes, the differences between the two editions of Hipponax were entirely in the spelling and form of Anatolian words which occurred in the Ephesian poems, but the MS. used by Tzetzes was more valuable and truer to the old Ionian poet than that used by Zopyrion and Pamphilos; that had suffered from Alexandrian learning, which was intended to restore Hipponax to a purer Greek form, but often only produced a modernised text.

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[1] Cramer was Warden of New College and Public Orator. He adorned also the position of S.T.P. Why does not Oxford continue work like Cramer's series of volumes (dated 1836)? Grenfell and Hunt's stately series of Papyri are a great achievement; Bywater's *Heraclitus* is a little volume of the pure gold of learning. Such works, along with the decipherment of cuneiform and Hittite inscriptions, should not exhaust the energies of a great University. Tzetzes knew far more of Hipponax than he has quoted in a few passages of his published writings. His unpublished writings are not likely to be more worth printing than his published *Treatise on Metres*, etc.; but study of the manuscripts might enable a careful scholar to recover quotations which he made from older writers of real value.

Hipponax *Λυδίζων* is what we should expect. He was born at Ephesus. He knew the market-place of Miletus and the Phrygians from inner Anatolia, fr. 43 (30),[1] who came down intending to sell their home-grown barley and buy in exchange the imports of that great harbour (*Kolonialwaaren*, as the Germans, whose colonies produced and sent none to them, call the products which we find in the shops of "Italian warehousemen," preserving a name of the old times when Venice and Genoa were the European centres of import and distribution); those strangers from Phrygia had to face the dangers and the brigands, or in modern phrase Zeibeks,[2] of the long road down the Maeander valley.

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[1] So in the text of Hiller-Crusius, 1897. Bergk's fourth edition, 1915, came to hand after this chapter was written; I add his numeration.

[2] Zeibek is not a racial term, nor does it really mean "brigand." A zeibek is, or used to be, a dashing young Turk of the mountain country fringing the Maeander valley, dressed in an exaggerated native style, with an armoury of lethal weapons displayed on his person and in his hands or waistbelt. His belt was about two feet deep, and his trousers about a foot long, reaching from well below the waist to the middle of the thigh, while the rest of his person was enveloped in a shirt, a very short sort of waistcoat with sleeves hanging loose from the shoulders for any other purpose than to surround his arms (which he would have scorned almost as much as a European hat), large leggings, and exiguous socks, or shoes without socks. He was a very decent fellow, indulging occasionally in a little brigandage more for ostentation than profit, but an "honourable gentleman," and quite a "superior person" in Scottish phraseology.

καὶ τοὺς σολοίκους, ἢν λάβωσι, περνᾶσιν
Φρύγας μὲν ἐς Μίλητον ἀλφιτεύσοντας.

"And if they catch the Phrygians, who come down to Miletus to put their barley on the market, bargaining in pidgin-lingo, they sell them for slaves."

The Ephesian poet used phrases and terms caught from the lingua franca (*σολοίκους Φρύγας*) in which business was done, at the markets of Miletus and Ephesus, a mixed "pigeon-Greek" containing Lydian and Greek and Phrygian words mixed probably with some old Anatolian (that ancient language "of the gods" as Homer sometimes called it). In Hesychius the term *Λυδιστί* is almost equivalent to "in Hipponax"; but both phrases would be best rendered "a term of the speech used in those Old-Ionian markets at Ephesus and Miletus."

Buckler well describes Hipponax: "How absurd the editors' guesses at emending Hipponax do seem, when one remembers how little they know of his topical allusions" [and how little they think about that aspect of his scazons]. "I fancy he was like Aristophanes or W. S. Gilbert—constantly mentioning the people, places, and slang of the period, and a favourite in the *cafés chantants* of Ephesus." In this paper I restrict myself mainly to proper names, and find that the traditional text needs little emendation, but only interpretation, even in such names, which are readily open to corruption. Probably even in the allusions and gibes interpretative imagination would be more suitable and fruitful than ingenious alteration. In the names we find, as might be expected, some reason to believe that in Lydia a new class of names was superimposed on that old Anatolian stratum, which is characteristic of Eastern Anatolia (Lycaonia, Isaurica, Cilicia, Pisidia). Similarly in Lycian names a later stratum overlies an earlier; and the attempt made by Sundwall to reduce all Anatolian names to one class diminishes the usefulness of his valuable study of the subject.

Hipponax fr. 5 (Bergk-Rubenbauer 15) is highly important topographically and historically. The five lines are given as follows by Hiller-Crusius (1897) and in Bergk's fourth edition,[1] as resulting from the labours of successive editors; but they still need careful and more conservative treatment:

Crusius: πᾶσαν, τέαρ', (ὅδευε) τὴν ἐπὶ Σμύρνης·
ἴθι διὰ Λυδῶν παρὰ τὸν Ἀττάλεω τύμβον
καὶ σῆμα Γύγεω καὶ Μεγάστρυ<ος> στήλην
καὶ μνήματ' (Ἅτυος Ἀττάλυδα) πάλμυδος,
πρὸς ἥλιον δύνοντα γαστέρα τρέψας.

Bergk: Τέαρε . . . δεύειε τὴν ἐπὶ Σμύρνης·
ἴθι διὰ Λυδῶν παρὰ τὸν Ἀττάλεω τύμβον
καὶ σῆμα Γύγεω καὶ μεγάστρυ στήλην
καὶ μνήματ' Ὦτος μυτάλιδι πάλμυδος
πρὸς ἥλιον δύνοντα γαστέρα τρέψας.

This fragment is preserved by Tzetzes in his treatise on ancient metres (see Cramer, *Anecd. Oxon.* iii. p. 310).[2] If we take the text given by Cramer from Tzetzes and write it as it would be written in the early centuries of our era, very little change is needed, only right division of the words.

Only three letters need alteration. The text is—

πατίαν, Τέαρ', ὅδευε τὴν ἐπὶ Σμύρνης·
ἴθι διὰ Λυδῶν παρὰ τὸν Ἀττάλεω τύμβον,—
καὶ σῆμα Γύγεω καὶ μέγ' ἄστυ,—καὶ στήλην
καὶ μνῆμα Τῶτος Μυτάλιδι πάλμυδος,
πρὸς ἥλιον δύνοντα γαστέρα τρέψας.

I have profited by the suggestions and criticisms of my friends Professor Sayce and Mr. W. H. Buckler; and it is mainly due to them that the passage has become simple. For myself I can claim credit for little more than the recognition from the first that here is a description of the "Royal Road," and that the fourth line was correctly written but disfigured by Tzetzes' false division of the words. I have also been responsible for guiding the discussion; but I have learned from my friends far more than I have contributed myself.

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[1] Reprinted from the edition of 1882, with indices by Rubenbauer, 1917.

[2] Bergk-Rubenbauer quotes p. 316. On the text see the Note at the end of this chapter.

The Smyrna of Hipponax is not the historic Smyrna, the old Lelegian city which was brought by the Ephesians into the Ionic union. Strabo, p. 633, tells of the ancient time when Ephesus was called Smyrna, and when Callinus, the Ephesian poet, about 700 B.C., called the Ephesians Smyrnaeans; and he says that "Smyrna was an Amazon[1] who took Ephesus, and from her the name was applied to the inhabitants and the city after the same fashion as a section of the Ephesians used to be called Sisurbitai from Sisurbe.[2] And a certain locality at Ephesus used to be called Smyrna, as Hipponax shows—

> He dwelt behind the Polis in Smyrna
> Between Tracheia and Scabby Headland."[3]

Tracheia, the Rough (Mountain), is the serrated ridge running east to west on the south side of the Caystros valley. It is usually called Mt. Koressos: see the map in Pauly-Wissowa, or the sketch in *Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 212. Scabby Headland was a popular name for the massive hill called Pion or Peion, almost isolated in the plain, north of Koressos, connected with it by a ridge.

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[1] Smurna, Samorna, and Murina are equivalent forms and names of the goddess as example and head of her warrior-priestesses, an old Anatolian word. Fick distinguishes them.

[2] Sisurbe or Sisurba is known only here; apparently a priestess of Artemis, perhaps flute-player. Surbe in Hesychius was connected with metal-working, but the gloss is mutilated: *συρβηνεύς*, flute-player; *σύρβη*, flute-case. On reduplicated words see *C. B. Phr.* i. p. 244, ii. p. 575.

[3] *ᾤκει δ ὄπισθε τῆς πόληος ἐν Σμύρνῃ*
μεταξὺ Τρηχείης τε καὶ Λεπρῆς Ἀκτῆς.

The lines of Hipponax contain a description of the road from Maeonia (or West Phrygia) through the Lydian country to Smyrna (of Ephesus); and they are a commentary on the words of Aristagoras (with the addition made by Herodotus, v. 49 and 53) about the western section of the Royal Road from Susa to Sardis and the Aegean coast. In the account of this road given elsewhere, the central section between Sardis and the Sangarios valley is traced stage by stage, according as the line is marked out by a series of monuments and great tumuli at important points. Such points are chiefly at the entrance to mountain-glens or passes leading up from the plain.[1] This "Royal Road" of Herodotus and Hipponax fr. 5 is to be distinguished from the road implied in fr. 43 (30),[2] viz. the "Central Trade Route" in its western section from Kelainai-Apameia-Kibotos to the coast at Miletus and at Ephesus: that western section was common to the Central and the Pisidian Routes,[3] which fork about three or four miles above and behind Kelainai-Kibotos.

Great help is given by Hesychius, who explains many of the words. He (or rather his authority Diogenianus) used a different text of Hipponax from that which Tzetzes knew (p. 142), with variation in the proper names; and the differences are helpful. The late existence of two texts in MS. leads to the hope that a papyrus copy of Hipponax may be found.

The failure of modern editors to recognise the fact that a road

[1] One of the most remarkable tumuli is near the railway, about two miles west of Tunlu-Bunar, on a high ridge running north and south; it is widely conspicuous at the top of the long ascent from the valley of the Islam-Keui and the village of Otourak. The Turbe, round with pointed central roof, of a Turkish dede with his grave below stands on the tumulus (in modern as in ancient times a grave is always needed to impart sanctity and give protection). It is briefly referred to in *Histor. Geogr. A. M.* p. 30, ll. 27, 28.

[2] Bergk-Rubenbauer 46 (30).

[3] On the Pisidian Route through the Aulones past the Limnai and Lakes Karalis and Trogitis see *J.H.S.*, 1920, p. 89, 1918, p. 144, and 1923, p. 1 f., and *Geographical Journal*, April 1923, p. 279.

is described point by point in this fragment has exaggerated the difficulties presented by the text. Every one who has experience of Anatolian travel knows how a road is marked by striking signs, sometimes natural, sometimes artificial. The situation of a town is indicated by its own peak or sign, sometimes by a pair of peaks, visible for days before the town itself comes into view; but the traveller learns how to detect a city far away (and even to take compass readings to it from a great distance over intervening hills and plains). The city is known by its sign; and to the ancient mind the guardian spirit of the city dwells in the peak or sign, and from thence exercises its influence on the life and the safety of town and citizens. This feature of old Anatolian life and religion is part of that imaginative interpretation of nature which is so conspicuous in the social life of ancient Asia Minor. To many scholars my opinions will seem fanciful and unprovable; but that verdict only shows that they have not come into sympathy with early thought as it unfolded itself and created its equipment on the great central plains and amid the mountains and hill-country and the isolated peaks that break the monotony of the main Anatolian plateau. The explorer must gradually and slowly and painfully learn to interpret that strange old way of thinking about and understanding nature, and taking nature as man's guide.

A valued friend has mildly ridiculed my idea of tracing a road by signs and ancient monuments, for, as he says, these are everywhere. They are, indeed, numerous; but it needs experience and sympathy to detect the plan. There are mountains everywhere in Scotland, but one alone marks the way to a real traveller. There are peaks protruding through the level limestone plateau of Central Anatolia; but only one marks the situation of Derbe: you see the "Pilgrim Father" (Hadji Baba) a long way off, and your path to Derbe is certain. See p. 216.

Line 1. The opening is the most difficult part of the whole, but the important feature lies in the last three words, which are certain—

τὴν ἐπὶ Σμύρνης—"the region which lies before you in the direction of Ephesus-Smyrna." We shall therefore pass over the initial difficulties for the present, and attend to the tracing of the road and the interpretation of the signs which mark its course.

Line 2 causes no difficulty—

> *ἴθι διὰ Λυδῶν παρὰ τὸν Ἀττάλεω τύμβον.*

The only trouble is due to Schneidewin's conjecture (which is often quoted as authoritative, but is rightly rejected by Hiller-Crusius and Bergk), *Ἀλυάττεω τύμβον.* Attales was one of two illegitimate sons of King Saduattes; the other was Adramus: their mothers were sisters, and the sons gave name to the Lydian cities Attaluda and Adramuttion. The legitimate son[1] and successor of Saduattes was Aluattes, who captured Aeolic Smyrna. The tomb of Attales was situated doubtless near the unknown city Attaluda (of which the termination is as in Attouda or Attoudda, Sibidounda, also -onda, -anda, -inda, -ada, etc.). It is probably to be looked for where the Royal Road, going east from Sardis, enters on the mountainous district towards Maeonia and Phrygia (in modern terms the direct road from Sart to Menye and Koula and Ushak). Here the traveller coming westwards emerges from the Maeonian mountain region and the broken edge of the central plateau and enters the wide valley of the Hermus.

Probably the text used by Hesychius read this genitive in another form Ἀττάλη: he has *ἀττάλη· φάρυξις ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν.*

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[1] According to Nic. Dam. fr. 63 (Müller, *F.H.G.* iii. 396), Aluattes, the legitimate son and heir, was born of the sister of Saduattes, even although he had violently taken her from her husband Milêtos, grandson of Melas the son-in-law of Guges. Xenophanes (*ap. Anonym. de claris mulieribus* 8) calls her Lude. Milêtos fled to Daskylion and thence to Prokonnêsos [*H.G.A.M.* p. 405, correctly Prokonêssos: cp. Peloponnesos for Pelopon-essos]. The legal right belongs to Aluattes through his mother, and Saduattes was king in virtue of his sister's right, an old usage in Syria and in Egypt, also obviously the Anatolian custom. The Mermnad dynasty was foreign, but was obliged to conform to the ancient law of inheritance.

φάρυξις is corrupted through the influence of the following *Φρυγῶν*, and nothing can be learned from it.[1] The genitive of Lydian and Anatolian names was formed in various ways, when expressed in Greek. The text before Diogenianus read *Ἀττάλη* where that of Tzetzes read *Ἀττάλεω*.

Line 3. All editors agree in the first four words *καὶ σῆμα Γύγεω καί*. As the Royal Road went direct to Sardis, we should look for an artificial mound[2] or a natural peak indicating that city, and marking to the traveller a long way off the end of the Royal Road in its strict sense (Susa to Sardis); probably it should be in view from the grave of Attales. The general opinion is certainly right that the Sema of Gyges is one of the grave-mounds of the Lydian chiefs beside the Gygaean Lake Koloe, for these, although away north of the Hermus, are conspicuous to the wayfarer on the Royal Road. The most lofty and widely visible was the Sema of Gyges.

Those who find the *σῆμα Γύγου* near the *Γυγαίη λίμνη* distinguish between it and another famous mound which he erected; but, so far as I may judge, the so-called Tumulus of Gyges is the *Ἑταίρας μνῆμα*, erected by Gyges in memory of a favourite Hetaira to such a height as to be visible to himself wherever he was travelling through the country north of Mount Tmolus, and conspicuous to all that dwelt in the Lydian land (Athen. xiii. 573 A from Clearchus in book i. of his *Erotika*, *F.H.G.* ii. 314). The Hetaira story is a popular legend worthy of *Erotika*; but the important fact that underlies the legend is the wide visibility of this watch-and-ward point (consecrated, as all such spots were in Anatolian custom, by the grave of an old prince or leader).[1] It was visible from afar, therefore a watcher on it commanded a wide prospect. Hegesander's explanation of the festival Hetairideia at Magnesia (quoted by Athenaeus on his preceding page, see *F.H.G.* iv. 418) shows the religious connexion with travel and sea-voyaging, which underlies much of Greek folk-lore and was often strangely distorted.[2] The *μνῆμα ἑταίρας*, or the *σῆμα Γύγεω*, was seen from afar on the great route N.W. to S.E. from the Hellespont through the Kaikos valley past Thyateira to Sardis and the Kogamos and Lykos valleys and the Pamphylian coast, and also from the line of the "Royal Road." My friend Buckler reminds me that always, as the excavators of Sardis were going by train to the city, the first intimation that they were coming near Sardis was the sight of the mounds beside the Gygaean lake. The parallel is illuminative. Asia Minor should always be studied from the point of view of the traveller. Much of its religion and life must be looked at in this aspect; otherwise its nature and origin is misapprehended. Radet in his striking and guiding book, *La Lydie et le monde grec*, emphasises the importance of international or intertribal trade and markets in Anatolia.

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[1] Possibly the gloss explaining a genitive by a genitive (as in line 4) may have been something like *ἄνακτος υἱοῦ Φρυγῶν* [*ἢ Λυδῶν*] (see Nic. Dam. fr. 63). But such unconfirmed guesses have no value, except as stimulating contradiction and improvement. *ὄαρ* too is an Anatolian word, specially characteristic of Homer; *Ὄαρις* is a personal name at Korykos. *ὀαριστύς* is explained as *πάρφασις* in *Il.* xiv. 216. The Anatolian name *Ὄαρις* was rendered in hellenising fashion as *Ὀρέστης*, a widespread priestly name (or title) at Komana, Kastabala, etc.; his descendants *Ὀρέστου παῖδες* led the Aeolic settlement in Lydia and Hellespontus-Mysia, while Kodridai led the settlement in the twelve Ionian cities; these names are patronymics of priestly or kingly familes, see on line 4.

[2] Of course, all these landmarks were hallowed by graves; that is Anatolian custom. The only one which I dug into a few feet deep contained a Hittite inscription (*Histor. Geogr. As. Min.* p. 311).

The end of line 3 is corrupt; but under Buckler's guidance the cure is easy. The great city of Sardis, the outstanding city of the world to the Greeks of the coast cities like Ephesus, can hardly be left out in this road survey. The Royal Road led from Susa to Sardis past the old Hittite monuments and the capital of the Hittites and the Metropolis or Ballenaion (*βάλην*, Phrygian king) of the Phrygians and the tomb of Attales.[1] Buckler omits one letter, and finds the convincing reading *μέγ' ἄστυ* instead of the meaningless *μεγάστρυ* (which must be altered in some way to give either metre or meaning). "The Sema of Gyges and the Great City": the double expression sums up admirably the impression made on every traveller that knows the old and has eyes and mind for the present, as he goes to Sardis: he sees first the Sema and after some time the great city. This completes the second stage of the way. It would be an anticlimax to add anything; but what then of the ending *στήλην*?[2]

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[1] See "Sepulchral Customs in Ancient Phrygia," *J.H.S.*, 1884, p. 241 f. See note 1 on p. 152.

[2] Greek fancy sought to explain why Gyges made so large a mound.

With *στήλην* begins the third stage, the extension of the road to Smyrna-Ephesus; and this must be connected by *καὶ* with the second stage (as the second is with the first). *καὶ* was abbreviated in writing as K with a little curl at the end: this K was mutilated and misread as P, which being evidently out of place found entrance into the preceding syllable, and thus the text became *μεγάστρυ στήλην*, "the Sema of Gyges and the Stele Megastru." Fortunately the scribe copied without making any clever ingenious alteration to mend the metre,[3] and the missing syllable gives warning where the error lies. It seems at first surprising to begin the third stage at the end of a line; but the pause after *μέγ' ἄστυ* is intended to heighten the effect, as is seen in line 4.

Line 4. The conjectures in this line have been varied, and yet

[1] The "Tomb of Midas" at Metropolis of Phrygia, Ambason, or Ballenaion, the town of the king (*πάλην*, *βάλην*, *πάλμυς*), was both a sanctuary and a tomb. The controversy whether or not this sacred place, dedicated to Midas the king, marked also the grave, has no meaning in Anatolian study, for every holy place was marked by a grave, and every grave was a holy place, *ναός* (*Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 270 ff.). Aeschylus gives an Asian tone by using *βαλλήν*.

[2] "Megastry" would be rather Persian (like Amastris) than Anatolian, and a syllable is wanting to make grammar and metre.

[3] Cure is easy after a fashion. *Μεγάστρυος*, or *Μεγαστρύου*, might have been written and the error concealed. Like many editors I fell into this trap, and found friendly help.

no conjecture is needed. The transmitted text is correct: *καὶ μνῆμα* Τῶτος Μυτάλιδι *πάλμυδος*.[1] Cramer, Schneidewin, M. Mayer, Bergk, Hiller, and even Crusius read (with Tzetzes' false division of words) *μνήματα*; but (as Sayce and Crusius in his prefatory notes perceived) the singular is necessary here, as in the preceding lines; a single monument or sign-post is needed.[2] The editors, however, having used the letter T to make *μνήματ'*, must find a name Ὠτος, or Ὤτου (Mayer),[3] or Ἄτυος. Crusius in his note suggests *μνῆμα τὤτυος* (*i.e. τὸ* Ἄτυος) but does not put it in his text. The name Tôs belongs to a class of Anatolian names found in Lycaonia, Isauria, and Cilicia (see *e.g.* the long list of priests or priest-dynasts engraved on an anta of the little temple at Korykos),[4] such as Mos (gen. Motos), Zas (gen. Zatos), Plos, Knos, Tous, Klous, Glous, also Ros or Rous (used only in composition), Bas, Tos, Tas, Tes, Ges, etc.[5] The occurrence of Tos in Hipponax[6] is interesting, as showing that this primitive style of name, common in East Anatolia, extended westwards formerly across Lydia as far as the mountains bordering the Ephesian country. Toi or Tou is known as a Hittite name (2 Sam. viii. 9; 1 Chron. xviii. 9): Toi, king of Hamath (a Hittite city), sent his son Joram or Hadoram to King David "to salute him and to bless him." This name Toi, Tou, survived in Anatolian as Toues.[1] Tos, here, is not the same; it is the Lycian Teattes.

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[1] I refuse to accent Τωτός on the analogy of Greek practice in such monosyllables.

[2] Hearing a report about a monument on Sipylos, east from the Niobe near Magnesia, I searched vainly for it in the winter of 1880; my failure gives no evidence against its existence. I was new to the country and its ways, knowing only Greek, which was useless in the country, though known to a few in the cities.

[3] The giant Otos was in the editors' minds.

[4] See Heberdey and Wilhelm, *Reise in Kilikien*, p. 76 f.; also many in unpublished inscriptions, and in their other inscriptions.

[5] In contrast with the aristocratic compound names, which are so numerous, these monosyllables have a rather plebeian look; but both are mingled in the list of priest-dynasts, Zas Ronderbemios, Lous Rosdrumariou, Knous Hermokratou Hermokratou, etc. Probably, almost certainly, they belong to an older race conquered by the immigrant race which used noble compound names. The conquerors in Anatolia rarely, if ever, dispossessed entirely the old priests, but shared the office with them. The typical example is at Pessinous, where five Gauls and five of the old priestly families formed a college.

[6] Ektous (gen. -tos) in Lycia (see Ormerod and Robinson in *J.H.S.*, 1914, p. 21) is grecised for Ktous: Lycian names are as a rule different in character from the Hittite and East-Anatolian. Read Αρ*μ*οα[s] Κτουτος in that inscription: O. and R., reading Ἁ*ρμόα* Εκτουτος, remark on the odd fact that one of the priests

At the end πάλμυδος has been accepted by all; but μυτάλιδι has caused much trouble. Bergk conjectures ’Αττάλυδα (comparing Steph. *s.v.*),[2] and Crusius follows, while Schn. and Hiller have Μυρσίλου τε. Read Μυταλιδι, or (if the Anatolian-Old-Ionian gen. ending of the word Mutalidis seems strange) we may read Μυταλιδα.[3] Either reading gives a patronymic or racial title, "sprung from Mutalli or Muttallu" (whom Sayce with Sachau, *Berlin Sitzungsber.*, 1892, p. 320, long ago recognised),[4] an old Hittite king (see *C.B. Phr.*, 1895, i. p. 141, where the S.W. Phrygian or S.E. Lydian, Kome Motella (modern Medele), and the personal name Motalis are explained from this Hittite origin). The epithet Mutalida, like the name Tos, brings Lydia into the Hittite area, which Sayce marked out in his letters in the *Academy*, 1879. The lapse of forty-four years has produced many confirmations of the

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is a priestess. If Σ be read for E, a very easy error in a difficult inscription, the priestess is eliminated. Tos (gen. Totos), father of Roubeis, occurs in Tracheiotis, that home of old Anatolian words, in a list of priests at Korakesion (Heberdey-Wilhelm, p. 138).

[1] Ormerod-Robinson, *J.H.S.*, 1914, p. 22. See Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 430.

[2] Attalyda, a city of Lydia, founded by Attys and after his death by his son Lydos, a singular piece of scholastic explanation (see on line 2).

[3] The ending as Bergk's ’Αττάλυδα.

[4] Sachau quotes and approves Sayce's suggestion that Mutnr, the name of a Hittite king in the treaty between Ramses II. and the Kheta, is an Egyptianised form of Mutalli (Mutallu). See Hall, *Anc. Hist.* p. 361.

bold historical generalisations which he there stated, but none more striking than this.

From this line Hesychius has two lemmata, *μυττάλυτα· μεγάλου*[1] (a genitive explained by a genitive), and *παλμυός· βασιλεύς. πατήρ. οἱ δὲ πάλμυς* (which is evidently the *πάλμυδος* of this line with *δ* omitted). *πάλμυος* was understood by Hesychius as nominative; and he changed *βασιλέως* (the true reading of the old commentator from whom the gloss is borrowed)[2] to *βασιλεύς*, adding, "some say the word is *πάλμυς*." In the words of Hipponax *μυττάλυδα πάλμυος*[3] the first was strange to Diogenianus, and he guessed the meaning to be *μεγάλου βασιλέως*, "of the great king."

While *πάλμυος* in Hesychius might be taken as corrupted from *πάλμυδος*, the truth probably is that the text of Hipponax which lies behind Diogenianus had the genitive *πάλμυος*, not *πάλμυδος*. It is no objection that *υ* is long: if the Ionians could say *πόληος* (Hipponax, quoted on p. 146) they could use *πάλμυος* at the end of a scazon. Great freedom was permitted in the inflexion of Anatolian names in Greek: from *Μεννέας* either *Μεννέαδος*[4] or *Μεννέου* was used indifferently. See also *Κανδάλητος* in the second part of this chapter. The inflexion *πάλμυος*, *πάλμυν*, like *πόληος*, *πόλιν*, was permitted (and perhaps best) in Ephesian Ionic dialect.

Such a patronymic as *Μῡταλῑδις* is characteristically Anatolian.

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[1] Schmidt obelises *λυτα*, and marks the lemma as quoted from this fragment. *τα* should be read *δα* (or some other gen. termination).

[2] The word *πατήρ*, "father," also comes from an original good authority, who knew that *μυττάλυδα* was a patronymic, and had the Anatolian feeling that the father (racial ancestor) of Tos was King Muttalu. Originally *πάλμυος· βασιλέως [τῶτος] πατρός*: corrupted to nominative.

[3] Possibly *πάλμυος*, which was mistaken for a nominative by Hesychius. But *υ* could hardly be taken as long in Greek metre, though strange things happen in grecised Anatolian words.

[4] The accentuation *Μεννεᾶδος* is generally given in modern books, and is perhaps right. Quantity is often transposed in two successive syllables (*e.g.* Mutallu, Muttalu) of an Anatolian name grecised, and so perhaps the accent may be shifted.

Many examples are quoted in *J.H.S.*, 1918, p. 146 f. At Pergamos the "Epilaidai," at Synnada the "Thunnaridai," at Colophon the "Herakleidai sprung from Ardus," were great families, sprung from some historical, or divine, or heroic ancestor. At Colophon the great priestly family represented the early Herakleid dynasty of the Lydian-Hittite period; and one of that dynasty was Ardus, brother of Kadus, both sons of Aduattes (Nic. Dam.) or Aluattes (Euseb.): this old Lydian family retained the priesthood even when Klaros and Colophon were Greek and Ionian. The first family of such divine origin to be discovered in Anatolian epigraphy was "descendants of Manes Ourammoas."[1] At Olba the priest-dynasts were alternately Aiant and Teukro, Yavan and Tarku (alternately Ionian and pre-Ionian[2] or Anatolian). Orestes (native Oaris) was the ancestor and ancestral name or title of the priests of Komana and Kastabala, and at Zizyma near Iconium Orestes was a frequent name in the hieratic family. Other examples *loc. cit.*

The road from Sardis to the Ephesian country[3] turns out of the main Hermus valley, away from the modern railway line, into the side valley of Nymphio (Nymphaion), between the ranges of Sipylos and Tmolos. Traversing this valley the road enters a deep glen leading up to Kara-Bel and so crosses the mountains into the Ephesian country. In this glen on the rock walls are the now famous Hittite sculpture commonly called after Sesostris, and described so by Herodotus, ii. 106, and by Aelius Aristides,[1] *Or.* 16, vol. i. p. 397 (Dind.). Bergk rightly perceived that this sculpture was mentioned by Hipponax, but tried to find it in line 3, by "correcting" *μεγάστρυ στήλην* to *Σεσώστριος στήλην*; this alteration he did not put into the text, but only suggests in a note. If the pass were now explored with eyes quickened by study of Hipponax the exact meaning of the double "Stele and Mnema of Tos" would be discovered. As usual a tumulus (*μνῆμα*) marks the entrance to the pass of Kara-Bel[2]; and those mounds regularly were finished on the top by a stone pillar or *στήλη*. According to Buckler the *στήλη* still stands on one of the mounds beside the Gygaean lake; and I saw in 1888 such a stele about three feet high in a Turkish cemetery at Apameia-Celaenae; it was not unlike a Turkish headpiece for a grave, but was far too massive for Turkish work; and it bore an almost illegible ancient inscription in Greek (having evidently been used in the Roman period as a gravestone). In form the stele was circular, with a larger top as headpiece, presenting very rough analogy to the human torso with shoulders and head. In one way or other the memorial of Tos was a pair, stele and mnema (tomb), as it was called in the traditions that floated in the market of Ephesus and has been preserved by Hipponax.

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[1] A first-century inscription found at Karagatch (Neapolis Pisid) in 1882, and published *Ath. Mitt.*, 1883, p. 72. Long afterwards in 1918 the land of Ouramma was discovered (*J.H.S.*, 1918, p. 146), and Manes (originally Masnes) was disclosed as the sun-god of that land: doubtless he was pre-Hittite and Old-Anatolian.

[2] The priesthood was shared between the conquerors and the old hereditary priesthood, as stated in footnote on p. 41. The "sons of Yavan" were Ionians, of course.

[3] ἐς τὴν Ἐφεσίην (compare Herod. ii. 106). The road to Smyrna from Sardis at first follows this course, but soon parts from the Ephesian route and crosses by Kavakli-Dere into the Smyrna valley by the sea. Herodotus is not correct.

[1] The reliefs of the Kara-Bèl pass are only about fifteen miles from Smyrna, and Bergk thinks that Aristides of Smyrna had actually seen those *στῆλαι Σεσώστριδος*, while Herodotus (as he rightly holds) speaks only from report. I cannot agree with this opinion about Aristides, who speaks merely from the reading of Herodotus, and is not thinking of the Kara-Bel monuments, but in general about all such memorials of conquest as Sesostris erected; evidently the orator trusts that educated hearers or readers will catch the allusions to Herodotus' words, *ἵστη* and *περιιών* and above all in *ἀμφοτέραις* (which gain meaning only through the reference to Herodotus ii. 103. 1). Perhaps Aristides even used *ἵστα* from Herodotus according to the vulgar text, although Dindorf gives the Attic form *ἵστη*. At any rate it is certain that the Stelai of Sesostris were so familiar to educated Greeks as memorials of conquest that Aristides could trust to an audience catching the meaning of his rather involved and rhetorical allusion.

[2] There is such a mound at the entrance.

The term *stele*, though inexact, was customary in Greek literature when rock sculptures and inscriptions are meant. Herodotus, in describing (ii. 102 and 106) the monuments which Sesostris erected to commemorate his conquests, calls them in general *stelai*. Similarly the reliefs on the rocks at Nahr-el-Kelb near Beyrout are called *stelai* by many modern writers (*e.g.* Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, pp. 149, 162, 358, 499). Sesostris belongs to the realm of Greek popular legend, and the Egyptian original is found by some (*e.g.* Hall, 149, 162) in Senusert III. Khakaura, by others (*e.g.* Sayce) in Ramses II. Sestura.[1] Hall even, by conjectural emendation, finds Sesostris in Manetho as the Greek name of Senusert I. and II. (Sesonkhosis was substituted by a "careless copyist"). So far as historical basis is concerned, the legendary Sesostris is a combination of Egyptian conquest in foreign lands generally, and much more;[2] and it is vain to seek for a real original; but it is a fact that Hittite monuments were attributed to him (or to Memnon, see below p. 169), and called by the general name *stelai*, even though they were only rock-carvings on what may be loosely called tablets, *i.e.* prepared parts of rock surface. Hipponax, therefore, might call one of the two Kara-Bel reliefs a *stele*. It is indeed true that Herodotus, who speaks of the memorials erected by Sesostris as *stelai*, particularly that which the historian claims to have seen personally in Syria Palaestina on the coast at the mouth of the Dog-river, describes the reliefs of the Kara-Bel pass more correctly as two figures carved on the rocks, although he classes them among the *stelai*. There are at the mouth of this pass two reliefs similar to each other, on the right and on the left; one is much higher above the road than the other; and the pair may be described by Hipponax as *stele* and *mnema*; so Herodotus practically says "among the *stelai* of Sesostris are two figures on the Kara-Bel rocks." But *stele* and *mnema* should be distinguished.

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[1] As Senusert's wars were confined to the Nile valley in Nubia, he seems an inadequate representative of Sesostris, who was imagined by the Greeks as conqueror of all Western Asia. Sesostris penetrated to the Red Sea and into Europe, where he conquered the Scythians and Thracians, and set up *stelai* in Palestine (and in Ionia). The stele at Nahr-el-Kelb was erected by Ramses II. (among the series of reliefs commemorating great conquerors who marched that way).

[2] No Egyptian king reached Lydia or Ionia.

It is the ancient and modern popular belief in West Asia that sanctity is given by a grave and a dead hero; and these monuments near Ephesus, known by report to the public whom Hipponax addressed, are called the *stele* and *mnema*.[1] It was from the two sculptures of Kara-Bel that Sayce in 1879 deduced his theory (rediscovered in the German excavations at Boghaz-Keui) of a great Hittite Empire extending over Asia Minor to the Aegean coast. The sculptures and inscriptions, together with thousands of cuneiform tablets, now being published by the Berlin Museum authorities, have demonstrated this. The tomb and the name of Tos are as truly Hittite monuments as the Kara-Bel sculpture or the hieroglyphic inscriptions of Carchemish or the cuneiform of Boghaz-Keui.

Tos was of the race of Mutallu: in Muttalidis there is transposition of length between the first and second syllables. The patronymic is formed like Atreides from Atreus, and may have been spelt Mutaleidis, gen. Mutaleidi (grecised Μυτταλιδα, Μυτταλυδα). There is no universal law or practice in the grecising of foreign names, and transposition of length or accent is common.

After the preceding paragraphs were written and discussed with my friend Sayce, Bergk's fourth edition came into my hands, and I learned that he had formerly conjectured *μνῆμα* Τωτὸς *μυττάλυτα* (nearly the same that Sayce and I reached); but Bergk discarded this happy idea. He had quoted Hesychius, but missed the force of the genitive *μεγάλου*, which he changed to *μεγάλα*. He also suggested in a note Τουδοῦς (Nic. Dam. 49), which would be good, if the text did not give a different and much better name. This shifting about, hitting the truth and then wandering astray, is disappointing ; it suggests misguided ingenuity.

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[1] In Anatolian epitaphs of later time it is usual to describe the sepulchral erection by two or even more names, for the epitaphs were legal documents. On the rocks of Kara-Bel the name of the warrior-king is nearly obliterated, and the reading is doubtful. The second symbol is *da* (*ta*): the first probably *mi*, giving Mida, but possibly Tua, chariot (as in Tuana, place of chariots, Tuati charioteer), giving Tuada or Tuata; so Sayce tells me.

There is a climax in the enumeration of the stages and Signs : (1) the tomb of Attales ; (2) the Sema of Gyges and the great city ; (3) the Stele and Mnema of Tos of the line of Mutallu, the king. The emphasis is laid on the last, the nearest to Ephesus, the most familiar to the public whom Hipponax addressed, and the most famous Anatolian rock monument in ancient literature. Historically it is important as the limit on the west of Hittite art and influence (*τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως*) in the words of Clement, Rom. i. 5.[1]

This climax is obviously intentional. Hipponax was not merely a scurrilous lampoonist and jester ; he had in him something of the poet. Even in the scanty fragments, quoted with an eye more to scurrility than poetry, and most of all for rarity and obscurity in the words, the poetic power is not wholly lost. Yet it was evidently his nature, even in such a picture of travel as this, not to break away entirely from his usual rôle, and the jester shows himself in the words " turning his belly towards the setting sun."

Line 5 presents no difficulty.

We go back now to the difficult line 1. In TCAPCΔCΥC Schneidewin recognised OΔCΥC, an easy and fairly satisfactory alteration, which leaves TEAP' instead of TEAPE. We turn now to Hesychius, who has *ὁδεύει· περιπατεῖ, ἀπέρχεται*, where Schmidt adds a (conjectural) reference to Callimachus, *Del.* 18. The second gloss suits the style of Callimachus and the context of *ὁδεύει*, but *περιπατεῖ* would be laughable. Two distinct lemmata have been mixed up—*ὅδευε· περιπάτει* from Hipponax here, and *ὁδεύει· ἀπέρχεται* from Callimachus. The present indicative with the gloss suits well *Del.* 18, where some scholiast gave as an explanatory rendering something like, "When the islands gather to the court of Okeanos and Tethys, Delos is summoned among the first, and noblest goes away." There *ἀπέρχεται* would be the satisfactory explanation of *ὁδεύει*, but *περιπατεῖ* would be singularly unsuitable and cannot have been used by the commentator. Schmidt is partly right and partly wrong.

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[1] In the words of Clement this phrase might be interpreted in two ways, " his limit on the west," viz. Italy and Rome, or " the bounds of the west," viz. Spain ; and the meaning of Clement's testimony regarding Paul's travels has been disputed. The disputants on both sides have omitted the decisive proof of Clement's meaning. He says Paul had preached both in the East and in the West : *κῆρυξ γενόμενος ἔν τε τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δύσει.* It is impossible that a resident in Rome could use that pointed contrast of preaching in Asia and in Italy : he must mean east and west from his audience and himself, *i.e.* the East and the West of the Roman Empire. This determines the force of *τέρμα δύσεως*.

The Hesychian gloss *ὅδευε· περιπάτει* emphasises that the road was to be traversed on foot: L. and S. quote *περιπατεῖται ἡ ὁδός*, "the road is for walking on." Hipponax had himself travelled that road, for the description as quoted is exact to a degree, and implies eye-witness.[1] Herodotus, on the contrary, obviously had never seen inner Asia Minor, but reports the gossip of the seaports (which was far from accurate) about the road to Sardis and the monument on it. When Herodotus, ii. 106,[2] speaks of the road from Sardis to Smyrna, he may have been relying on some authority

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[1] If Hipponax was lame he might travel. Homer "saw the wide prospect and the Asian fen and Egypt's land and Smyrna bay, though blind."

[2] There is nowhere an indication of eye-witness in any of Herodotus' references to the inner regions of Anatolia, but there are even errors which show that he had not personally travelled there. This explanation of the meaning of Smyrna brings the report which Herodotus had heard into partial agreement with the fact and with Hipponax; and, if ἡ Ἐφεσίη could be understood as the lower half of the Cayster valley, the road thence to Phokaia (as Sayce suggested on Herodotus ii. 106) might be understood as crossing a pass of Tmolos and going north of Sipylos with the Niobe and perhaps some other monument (see p. 169). The explanation is lame.

(perhaps oral), who meant Ephesus-Smyrna.[1] His second road from the Ephesian territory to Phokaia is obscure, and there lies beneath this expression some error or misapprehension of the reporter.

The name Tearos may be accepted as Lydian or Anatolian. A fair analogy is the mountain Ouiaros on coins of Prostanna (Prostawenna) in Pisidia, which we take as pronounced with *a* long. Aris (accented ἆρις by Heberdey-Wilhelm, *Reise in Kilikien*, p. 77) occurs in the Korykian list of (priests ?). Oaris [2] in the same list has probably *a* short, and so Thunnaros (Θυνναρίδαι occurs in a hexameter). Tearos was a river in Thrace (see Pape-Benseler), but the quantity is unknown. The best analogy is Kudrelos-Hudrelos, the oikistes of Hudrela in Caria and Myus in Ionia (Strabo, pp. 633, 650): now Hudrela was the same as the Kudrara of Herodotus, and the oikistes must originally have been Kudraros (*C.B. Phr.* i. p. 85). As to Ouiaros, when we observe the long *a*, the meaning is evident. OΥ and B were used as equivalent in writing Anatolian names in the Greek alphabet. Biaros meant strong, powerful, and was a suitable name for a mountain: cp. Ταρκυμβίης (βίη Τάρκυνος, like Homer's βίη Διομήδους, βίη Ἡρακληείη), and similar names in the Korykian lists.

Buckler suggests that Taoreas, a magistrate's name on coins of

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[1] Herodotus mentions the road in the same direction as Hipponax, not in the direction Smyrna to Sardis, which would be natural to a person speaking in a Greek city from ordinary reports current there. I do not mean that he used Hipponax (for he would probably have mentioned his authority in that case), but that there must be something in the circumstances to explain the order Sardis to Smyrna.

[2] It is connected with ὄαρ, woman, wife, *owar*, indubitably an Old-Ionian word (almost peculiar to Homer) and Anatolian. Compare ὀαριστής, a familiar friend (*Od.* xix. 179). Oaris, the Anatolian name, was grecised as Orestes, a great hieratic figure, see on line 2. *Oar* meant merely fellow-member of the *oa*, *owa*, *oua*, the social group in the early development of Anatolian society: κώμη expresses the same idea in a more advanced stage than *oua*.

Ephesus about 400 B.C., may be another attempt at grecising the Anatolian name Tearos (or Teoros or Taoros), which contained undoubtedly a digamma: probably the nearest Greek approximation would be Te*w*aros or Ta*w*orros: while Taoreas involves a suffix *-eas*. The personal name Tauros (like the mountain Tauros in Anatolia) may be the same native word; though there always exists a probability that the personal name in Roman time is taken from the Latin cognomen Taurus.[1] Some analogy may be found in a quotation from Arkwright in *J.H.S.*, 1918, p. 66, "Messapian Θator for Tiator or Teator resembles the Phrygian forms."[2]

That the affinities suggested by Buckler are on the right lines, and that Tearos was a personal name originally identical with Taoros, seems indicated by Hesychius, with whom Bergk (M. Schmidt approving) wisely takes refuge: *τεωρός· συκοφάντης. καὶ τὰ ὅμοια* ("a sycophant and so forth"). This is to be taken, not as giving the meaning of the word *τεωρός*, but as explaining that Teoros in Hipponax was some low scoundrel and sykophantes (known to Hipponax and the public of Ephesus). Buckler points out that he was a fat pot-bellied person, who turns towards the west, and the setting sun, not his face, but his *γαστήρ*. What his connexion with the inner country may have been, the loss of the context conceals. At any rate he must be a Phrygian or Anatolian trader, as in fr. 43 (30), Bergk 46 (30), for Greeks rarely went into the inner country to trade. The better class of merchants stayed at the port cities, and did business with country traders, as in modern times and even at the present day.[1] It was among them that Herodotus had acquaintance, and from them that he learned the little which he mentions about the situation and facts of the inner country; except that the list of Persian auxiliaries from the nations in book vii. rests on much better authority (in all probability written). Those Greeks who went into Anatolia were as a rule needy and low-class people; but among their crimes and peccadilloes they were not "pot-bellied," but thin and wiry. The central country is a hard place to travel in.

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[1] One thing is certain. If these names, *tauros*, *teoros*, etc., are of the Anatolian class, they have nothing to do with ταϜως, peacock: in Anatolian *paün*, Latin *pavo-n* (as shown in an article in *Revue Archéologique*, 1923), for that bird was unknown in the early Anatolian period and was introduced from India or the East, probably as late as the Persian domination. There are therefore at least two distinct groups of words, and names, perhaps three, *Tewaros*, *Taworeas*, *-Tawuros*, etc., and *Tawo-Pawon*. It is even probable or possible that in the numerous uses of the Anatolian tauros two words of two different languages have been mixed up inextricably in Greek rendering (which alone we possess).

[2] With some of his views I cannot, however, agree, as when he says it is "almost certain that a Phrygian dialect was spoken in Lycaonia and Isauria." On the contrary, those countries, especially Isauria, were strongholds of the pre-Phrygian, *i.e.* Old Anatolian or Hittite, race and speech. In Iconium and northern Lycaonia Greek was spoken; in southern and eastern Lycaonia there is no trace or probability that Phrygian ever penetrated, and the native speech was Lycaonian, as in the district Isaurica (see Acts xiv. 7), a part of Lycaonia (Strabo). The speech of the Homanades is uncertain, but is not likely to have been Phrygian, as they were surrounded on all sides by Pisidian and non-Phrygian tribes, except where they may have touched the Orondeis (who were probably conquered by Phrygians): they were reckoned to Lycaonia, not to Cilicia.

No one can be satisfied with *πᾶσαν* as the first word. The best MS., one of the four in Paris, must have had *πατίαν* in contracted form. Dubner suggests that the contraction meant *πατέρα*; but the mark over *α* indicates that the word ended in *-αν*. Hesychius solves the difficulty with the gloss (used in plural) *πατίαι· χῶραι*.[2]

That the word *patia* was Anatolian appears from the Tekmoreian lists, where the ethnic is pateênos, with "e" for "i" (a common misspelling in Anatolian Greek). The ethnic Batteanos occurs also in those lists. There was therefore one homestead or village called Patia (Patea) or Battea,[1] similar to many others, which bear such names as *regio*, *klêros*, *chorion*. These were all imperial estates in the Roman time, where old customs lingered long. Patea (Patia) meant the "home farm" perhaps.

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[1] The beginning of the settlement of high-class foreign merchants in Anatolia was made hardly more than eighty years ago; and the settlers were trustworthy managers acting for merchant firms on the coast or in England.

[2] Schmidt ejects it, and in a footnote suggests *πατρίαι χώραι*. In an older MS. that lies behind both the Oxford and the Paris MSS., the word was *πτ*, in which T became blurred and was read Γ; hence Paris. has the impossible contraction *παγιαν* or *παγαν*, for which Oxford. substitued *πᾶσαν*. On Schmidt's text compare next paragraph.

In conclusion I mention one out of the many changes which I proposed, considered seriously, and rejected. There was a popular saying, a sort of proverbial laudation, current in Anatolia in the Roman time (the period that is best known to us): this was a phrase that often occurs in epitaphs, expressed in the Greek tongue, but the thought was familiar to the Anatolian peoples. Hospitality to travellers was a duty prescribed by custom and by religion:[2] in the intercourse and intercommunication that lay at the basis of the old Anatolian social system, hospitality to the wayfarer was a virtue praised and prized: inns were bad, and the memory of them is a horror that the traveller recalls in moments of depression, when life seems a sea of troubles with no compensation. Then one thinks of the abounding hospitality of numberless villagers, and even townsmen, who welcomed the stranger and put everything they possessed at his service. With this memory πάντων φίλος, "friend of all," in epitaphs acquires a wealth of meaning. The same idea was of course used in a wider way, *e.g.* Aristides in his oration at a panegyris in Cyzicus (*Or.* xvi.; vol. i. p. 396 f. Dindorf) contrasts the monarch who conquers fortified cities with him who exhibits in his career, for all to see, brilliant and admirable ensamples of virtue and justice and

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[1] Sterrett was right in this. In *Hist. Geogr. As. Min.* I wrongly divided β' Ἀττεανός.

[2] Such stories as that of Baukis and Philemon, who entertained two homeless travellers, and found them God and the Angel, Zeus and Hermes, belong to Asia Minor. The very names are suggestive, Anatolian and Greek, the sweet woman and the kindly man: cp. Hesych. Βαυκά· ἡδέα. The two races, Eastern and Western, have always been mixed in Asia Minor, and are both necessary to its development. Baukis and Philemon have Anatolian and Greek names.

φιλία. Such monarchs and men have in truth gained victory as a gift from the gods, such men have been adorned with the immortal crown, such men it would be reasonable to style friends of the gods, as they are friends of others, and to regard purely as benefactors of mankind. Paul of Tarsus in his brief words "adorned Gaius with the immortal crown" when he called him "my host and (host) of the whole Church." The thought expressed in this Anatolian phrase is close to human nature and has a home in every land; but its chosen home is in the life and literature of Asia Minor.

Hipponax, in the true rollicking Ionian Greek spirit, parodies and depraves the most sacred sayings and stories: in need he invokes for aid the god Hermes, *φωρῶν ἑταῖρε, δεῦρό μοι σκὰπαρδεῦσαι*. Is fr. 5 a case of this degradation? To Schneidewin's suggestion *πᾶσαν δ', ἑταῖρε*, might be given a Hipponactian turn, degrading the *πάντων φίλος* into *πασέων ἑταῖρε*, who goes with all women.[1] I mention this rejected emendation only for the opportunity of calling attention to the deep meaning that lies in this common phrase of the Anatolian epitaphs, a phrase which I used to regard as merely conventional and meaningless. In many other cases it will be found that epithets on grave-stones, which expressed the pathetic love of survivors in halting and stereotyped phraseology are really full of meaning. It is a common error to regard Anatolian epitaphs, especially metrical, as merely conventional, and to disregard the deeper meaning that lies in them. The friends and relatives who composed the epitaphs were full of sorrow, but not skilled in expressing it verbally. Hackneyed phrases were the only forms that came to their minds; but to them those common stereotyped words expressed sincere emotion and grief. Formerly I held the false view which I now criticise; but my improved attempts to explain the situation and the meaning of those epitaphs have sometimes been rebuked by critics as reading too much into what was only a stock phraseology, employed merely because it was customary, and meaning nothing. When criticism has studied Anatolia, instead of looking at Anatolian things through Greek spectacles and prepossessions, it will appreciate the truth that I have learned.

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[1] There is enough of aptness to justify this reading being thought about, but not enough to warrant it against the MSS.

The text of Hipponax which lies behind the work of Hesychius contained the following differences from the text as read by Tzetzes: *Τέωρε* for *Τέαρε*, *'Αττάλη* for *'Αττάλεω*, *Μυττάλυδα* for *Μυτάλιδι*, *παλμυός* for *πάλμυδος*, and perhaps it differed in the uncertain first word of line 1: the variations are chiefly or entirely in the Greek rendering of Anatolian words, in which there always existed great diversity of practice.

I. Text.—Cramer's text of the treatise of Tzetzes *On Metres* was derived from four MSS. in the Bodleian Library and one in the Bibliothèque Nationale; but only two of these, viz. Bodl. B and Paris A, contain the Scholia (which give on his p. 310 three quotations from Hipponax): A is much more ancient and correct, but B has more complete margins and contains a good deal that has perished from A through mutilation. These Scholia Cramer believes to originate from Tzetzes himself, and Bergk, on line 1, also quotes them as the witness of Tzetzes. The only variations important enough to deserve note by Cramer are in A (in regard to which I am indebted to Monsieur H. Omont's courtesy for information, confirming Cramer's statement). In A there are over the words *μεγάστρυ, ὦτος*, and *μύταλι* horizontal lines (the last is written *μυτάλιδι* in full). A has *δύνονται* and an important variant at the beginning, viz. $\pi_{\gamma}^{\bar{\alpha}}$, which Cramer explains as *πατέρα*. Bergk understands both B (*πᾶσαν*) and A to give erroneous readings of *πάλιν*, which he attributes to Tzetzes, making Tzetzes introduce the second quotation by *καὶ πάλιν* and the third by *καί*. I disregard Bergk's conjecture as illegitimate: the third quotation would be more naturally introduced by *καὶ πάλιν* than the second, moreover *πάλιν* would not explain satisfactorily the text of A and B. Both B and A go back to the same source, viz. Tzetzes himself: both represent one group of symbols, written by Tzetzes. The abbreviation used in A should apparently be interpreted as *π-γαν*, but that is impossible. *γ* is taken by Cramer as a corruption of *τ*, but his *πατέρα* neglects the mark over *α*, which indicates a final *ν*. If we suppose that *γ* is an error for *σ*, the reading could be interpreted *πᾶσαν* as in B.[1] At any rate some correction of A is here necessary.

In A there is an unwritten space of about five letters between *τεαρε* and *δευειε* (which it gives for *δευει*). The empty space we disregard: it is due to the irregularity of the writing in the margin. *δευει* for *δευε* is like *δύνονται* for *δύνοντα* in A; the final *ι* is a slip on the part of the writer, which may be disregarded. The *ε* above the line in A may be taken as correcting *ει* to *ε*: probably this error goes back to Tzetzes himself, who, in writing the scholia to his own poem, introduced (either involuntarily or voluntarily) both the error and the correction. The text, then, which the scribe of A had before him read *π-αντεαρε δευει*, corrected to *δευε* by a note above the line.

II. ANATOLIAN PATRONYMICS.—An Anatolian or Old-Ionian patronymic ending in *di-s* has been assumed in I, 4. Perhaps it occurs also as vocative in Solon's address to Mimnermus, *Λιγυασταδη*, where the eta, metrically short, can be explained as shortened before omega.[2] Solon, though an Athenian, was likely to use an Anatolian form in addressing the Ionian Mimnermus. Solon had travelled in Lydia and conversed with Croesus. The use of dialect to attain some special effect on appropriate occasions was a common device in Hellenic literature. Hippokrates of Dorian Cos used Ionic as appropriate for medical treatises, the Attic tragedians used Doric for choral odes, and Solon addressed Mimnermus as "sprung from the race (or school)[3] of clear-voiced singers." He conveyed with this compliment a courteous apology for admonition and correction : "Say not sixty, but eighty, thou scion of the poets." Just as at the present day the phrase "son of the prophets" would show that the writer was aiming at a Hebraistic turn, so Λιγυασταδις implies Anatolian tone. Probably Solon created the word, but it may perhaps have been in general use : the latter is suggested by the words of Souidas (ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Λιγυαστάδης διὰ τὸ ἐμμελὲς καὶ λίγυ, a merely scholiastic explanation). It seems more probable, however, that the epithet was invented by Solon, because (1) it conveys in that case a greater compliment, (2) it is apparently a freak variation of Λιγυρτιάδου, (son) of Ligyrtiades, made by Solon with the thought that the implied ancestor Liguastes bore a name containing the element ᾄστης, singer (known only as a gloss, according to L. and S.).

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[1] The objection to this supposition is that it either was rejected by, or did not occur to, Cramer; but how his reading can be elicited from the abbreviation in A, I am unable to divine.

[2] Theognis has regularly Πολυπαΐδη, shortened like Λιγυαστάδη.

[3] The genealogical fiction made "race" and "school" equivalent terms in such a case.

III. The Hittite-Trojan Road.—A branch of the "Royal Road" is alluded to by Pausanias, an excellent authority, for he was born at or near Magnesia,[1] and had travelled in Asia Minor as far east as the Phrygian border, where he had heard about (but hardly believed the tale, ἐμοὶ θαῦμα) the skeleton of a giant excavated from a *lophos* in the territory of the small town Temenouthyrai,[2] near the modern Ushak. The λόφος was probably situated about the point where the Royal Road emerged from the Maeonian hills and mountains (really the broken edge of the central Plateau) on to the plain of Ushak. The great tumulus[3] with the grave of an ancient hero who was taken by the populace to be a "Giant," and whose bones were described as of gigantic size, was probably one of the monuments which marked the course of the Road. It is alluded to in *H.G.A.M.* p. 31 from memory of a tiring journey in 1881, for the tumulus there mentioned is probably the *lophos* of Pausanias.

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[1] The Anatolian origin of Pausanias is briefly described in *J.H.S.*, 1882, p. 67 f. ; but there is much more to say on that subject. His Anatolian allusions are incidental and personal, not borrowed from an older writer (as his account of Greece is held by many to be borrowed). Frazer, too, recognises him as Anatolian of Lydia.

[2] Originally doubtless Temeno-teira, the town of Temenos, compare Teira, Thua-teira : I think S. Reinach was the first to publish this theory.

[3] As it contained a grave, it cannot have been a mere natural hill. Pausanias is only repeating popular gossip.

In x. 31. 7 Pausanias says that Memnon went from Susa to Troy conquering all the nations which he passed through, and that the Phrygians still point out[1] the road by which he led his army, choosing the shortest way through the country (the road τέτμηται διὰ τῶν μονῶν).[2]

I find in *H.G.A.M.* p. 31 a written note that Robertson Smith considered Memnon to be a grecised form of the Syrian name Naaman = Adonis. The allusion in Pausanias makes it certain that some tradition was floating among the Lydians in his time about an ancient connexion of Troy with inner Asia Minor and a road through Phrygia down the Rhyndakos valley towards the Hellespont, associating the road with a Syrian king or deity; but the tradition is really a faint echo of the fame of the old Hittite empire with capital in Anatolia; and it should be compared with the war waged by Priam in his youth against the Amazons on the banks of the Sangarios (*Iliad* iii. 187).

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[1] The words ἔτι ἀποφαίνουσι seem to imply that the Phrygians actually pointed out the road to Pausanias; it was on this journey to West Phrygia that he heard the story at Temenothyrai (as just mentioned).

[2] No variant is quoted by Schubart; perhaps read (with Strabo xii. 568) Μοριμηνῶν (in western Cappadocia), although a place or tribe in N.W. Phrygia might be expected. τέτμηται, perhaps, implies "his road takes the shortest line through the Morimeni"; a mere conqueror had no time to cut a road artificially through hills or rocks, and such cutting must imply a regular route. Of course, τέτμηται belongs to legend, not to history; and a cutting, διὰ τῶν Μ[υσ]ῶν (*i.e.* the Mysians Abbaeitai), in the hills near the lake of Simav may have been pointed out to Pausanias by the Phrygians of Ancyra or of Sunawos (both on the lake of Simav). μονῶν, from μονή, *mansio* (John xiv. 23), seems meaningless. Cuttings made by, or for, wheels may be meant by Pausanias: see p. 188. In that case they will be found. Perrot discovered an old Phrygian monument on the Rhyndakos route.

B. Hipponax on the Lydian Priests

Tzetzes, *Exeg. Iliad.* 76. 8, illustrates Homer's description of the priest Chryses as follows: the priests of the sun, *i.e.* prophets and Magi, such as was Chryses, used to go crowned with laurel, as is proved by Hipponax:

> Κίκων δ' ὁ πανδαύλητος[1] ἄμμορος καύης
> τοιόνδε τι δάφνας κατέχων

Hiller-Crusius 12 (5) emend this in the form—

> Κίκων δ' ὁ (πανδήλητος) ἄμμορος καύηξ
> τοιόνδε δάφνης κλάδον ἔχων

Bergk 2 (5), edition iv., prints the text—

> Κίκων δ' ὁ πανδάλητος ἄμμορος καύηξ
> τοιόνδε δάφνης κλάδον ἔχων

Tzetzes has *καύης*, and it is not permissible to transform the priest into a sea-mew or a gull, merely because, as Hesychius says, the Ainianes applied the name *καύηξ*[2] to a bird of that class (usually called *λάρος*). In this fragment, regarded as an illustration of *Il.* i. 13 or 370-373, the essential points are two: (1) Kikon is a priest; (2) he carries a branch of laurel in his hand. Hipponax must mention both points, and Tzetzes quotes accordingly. There is no justification for "emending" either point out of the quotation; and there is nothing to show that Kikon was a priest except the word "kaues." Now *καύης* was the Lydian term for a priest, known both at Sardis and at Ephesus, fem. *καύεις*, *καύειν* (see Robinson and Buckler in *A.J.A.*, 1910); and Hesychius has *κοίης* and *κόης· ἱερεὺς Καβείρων.*[1] *ἄμμορος καύης* was a priest without a stipend, similar to those beggar priests, Metragurtai (such as Aeschines was in youth, Dem. *De cor.* 259 f., perambulating Attica with his mother, the priestess and hierophantis).

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[1] *πανδάλητος*: in one authority *πανδαύλητος*. Certainly the weight of MS. authority favours *πανδάλητος*, but the loss of *u* is more probable than the insertion. *u* tended to be pronounced as a semi-vowel, like *v* or *w* in English, and so disappeared. Compare Ἴσαρα for Isaura and Isavra, *Stud. in the Hist. and Art of the Eastern Rom. Prov.* p. 47.

[2] *καύηξ* is onomatopoetic, an imitation of the hoarse cry of the bird, as one hears it from a ship or on the shore, calling for food. The resemblance between this name and the Lydian term for priest is merely accidental.

Kikon was a good hieratic name, and must be accepted as denoting a real person, some priest known to Hipponax's public. In mythology Kikon was son of Amythaon, who dwelt in Thessaly at Iolkos, in old Pelasgian surroundings. Amythaon was father also of Melampus the seer, and Bias, and Aeolia (the isle of Stromboli). Bias, the strong or violent, is a name associated with many places and scenes in early legend; but typical rather than individual. The name is often found in Homer. The Amythaonidai were kings of Argos, and Melampus was the founder of Pylos. The family is connected intimately with the wanderings of the Old-Ionians, the sons of Yavan, and with some of the most famous seats of early Greek mythology. In Ephesus Kikon is probably typical of the Ionian share in the Ephesian priesthood. There is no direct evidence that the sons of Yavan had any such share; but the long series of vicissitudes and alternations in the history of the city, which was sometimes more inclined to yield to the Western influence, and sometimes was fastened by a rope to the temple of the native goddess (according to the story), implies that the priesthood with its power was shared. A united and unalloyed native Lydian priesthood would have been fatal to the very life of a Hellenic city; and in fact the goddess proved in the long run stronger than Hellenism, and Ephesus proved to be the least

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[1] On the Kabeiroi see Chapter XIX. I find *μεγακηεύς* Cypr. in an old notebook of 1879, among a list of words presumably Asianic, but cannot trace my authority. *κηεύς* evidently originates from *kawus* or *kawos*. Hesychius connects *κόης* with Kabeiroi, presumably through the resemblance in form, which is real: Kabeiroi are *kawei-ro-i*, with suffix *-ra* (*-ro*), Hittite Khabiri, royal body-guard.

Hellenic of the twelve Ionian cities. Moreover, the analogy of other mixed nationalities in Asia Minor shows that this partition of the priesthood was usual (see Chapter IV.).

Kikon may also have been the ancestral hero and eponym of the Thracian tribe Kikones, who were allies of the Trojans (*Iliad* ii. 846, a leader; Euphemos, another leader; Mentes xvii. 73; cp. *Od.* i. 105, ix. 39, a city Ismaros, *Od.* ix. 39 f.). The great Kikonian in religious-historical mythology was Orpheus. The Old-Ionian epic preserved these stories, and connects the priest with the Ionian stock. Yet if any one prefers to refer Kikon to a Danubian element, conquering Lydia with the Mermnads, he has a good case.

πανδαύλητος or *πανδάλητος* is obviously indefensible. The editors assume that the first syllable is right and look for a corrupted compound with *παν*. Bergk, who has a different reading in his text, suggests in his commentary *πανδαύχνωτος*, *i.e.* *πανδάφνωτος* (adding "Meineke comprobavit"): thus he finds the laurel here, but Tzetzes' quotation gives the laurel in the next line.[1] Hesychius has *δαυχμόν· εὔκαυστον ξύλον δάφνης*, which is far from suggesting a leafy branch.

If the word used by Hipponax had been one of the familiar Greek compounds beginning with *παν*, corruption would have been unlikely. Moreover, there must always have been an unconscious tendency in a scribe to find such a compound by misreading a blurred initial letter, *e.g.* kappa. The seat of error, therefore, is in the first syllable, and probably the first letter; for here the unconscious tendency would influence the mind of the scribe. The errors which the scribe made were unintentional, not wilful alterations, as we observe in practically every case.

The same cure occurred independently to Sayce and to Buckler.

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[1] Tzetzes' quotation ends when the two essential points, priest and laurel, have been mentioned. The only reason why part of line 2 was quoted was because the laurel was mentioned there, and it was needed to complete the illustration.

Sayce was looking for some Anatolian word, and thought that K was a more probable beginning than Π. Buckler saw that ὁ meant "son of": now Kandaules is a Lydian hieratic and royal name, and Kikon the priest is his descendant in the priestly line (see p. 177). With the change of one letter at the point of error, the true reading emerges: *Κίκων ὁ Κανδαύλητος, ἄμμορος καύης*, Kikon, "scion" of Kandaules (claiming to be of the old hieratic descent from the god himself), a priest without a stipend. Hesychius has *Κανδαύλας· Ἑρμῆς. ἢ Ἡρακλῆς*, which is evidently a comment on Hipponax, and implies that here, as so often, the text of that poet known to Pamphilus or Diogenianus had the Anatolian words in slightly different grecisation from the text that lies behind Tzetzes.

Kandaules is the Lydian form of Herakles, who is described in the Greek mythology as wearing woman's attire and associating with Omphale the Lydian queen (*i.e.* priestess and goddess), who adorns herself with the lion's skin, which was in Greek legend appropriate to Herakles. The Lydian priests, representing Kandaules, wore women's robes. Perhaps Hipponax thought that was sufficiently suggested by "sprung from Kandaules"; but more probably, if we had the context, we should find that the feminine style of dress worn by Kikon was described.[1] Moreover, Kandaules is equally the Lydian counterpart of Hermes; he is the arch-thief, the companion and leader and patron of thieves, like Hermes; so that "descendant of Kandaules" implies quite as much "robber" as "effeminate," and, as thief is stated in the next line, so also women's dress should be mentioned in the context.

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[1] At one time I conjectured that the femininity affected by Kikon was alluded to by the women's shoes (*σανδάλια*, see Hesychius) which he wore. But *σανδάλητος* (implying a verb *σανδαλέω*, wear women's shoes) is not comparable in suitability with the correction proposed by Sayce and Buckler. Yet feminine dress must have been alluded to in the passage, and a lisping, effeminate way of speaking is alluded to (see p. 180). This is an old Anatolian character and not peculiar to Lydia: see *Luke the Physician and other Studies in the History of Religion*, pp. 203-207.

In grecising Anatolian names great freedom was shown in declension. Names in -*ας* and -*ες* make the genitive in -*δος*, -*τος*, -*ου*, -*εω*, -*α*, -*η*, according to metrical convenience or prosaic caprice. *Χάρητος* and *Χάρηδος* occur as genitive in the same region and time, apparently even in the same family and individual: the genitive of Kidramas or Kidramoas was grecised alike as Kidramantos and Kidrama and Kidramoa.[1] *κανδαύλη*, -*εω*, -*ητος*, are all equally possible as genitives.

Among the ancients poverty was an aggravation of guilt and always a cause of ridicule. See *e.g.* the picture drawn by Gregory Nyss. of the low-born Aetios the heretic, working for his living, quoted and illustrated in my *Pauline and other Studies in History of Religion*, p. 371 ff. This prejudice is not unreasonable in Western Asia, nor even in Eastern Europe, where the self-respecting poor man hardly exists. As the saying still goes, "it is only a rich man that can be honest; a poor man must live by his wits" and must be ready to do anything to get a living. Hence it is only among those brought up in comparative wealth that a pleasant, easy, trustworthy tone is found in those lands. "The poor are always in the wrong" literally. Accordingly it was a common climax of invective to picture an opponent as poor and obliged to earn a living by toil. So Demosthenes contrasts himself and his own respectable education and training with the early life of Aeschines the beggar assistant to his mother, the wandering priestess (see p. 172). Yet Aeschines belonged to a good Athenian family, impoverished in the wars. To work for a livelihood, even as a teacher of children, was disgraceful: to teach rhetoric to young men, or to inherit means, or to be a soldier, was honourable.

Hipponax degrades in his usual fashion the Lydian divine idea, by picturing the high-born priest of the god, who made supplication on behalf of the people, as a beggar. Doubtless strolling priests and priestesses were known in Ephesus, as they were in Attica during the fourth century. On the character of such foreign, mainly Asian, cults in Attica the treatise of P. Foucart on *Les Associations relig. chez les Grecs* is instructive. Although Foucart thinks specially of these *metragurtai* as Phrygian, the cult was essentially the same in other parts of Anatolia ; and coins show that the conception of the divine figures (whom the priests represented in their mystic ritual, *orgia*) was practically identical in Lydia and in Phrygia. The deities were Old-Anatolian, worshipped and feared by every conquering race that swept over those countries; and their ritual spread to neighbouring countries, as *e.g.* to Attica, not through any intentional missionary propaganda (it was of the essence of paganism to restrict the benefits of the ritual to a few lest the value might be diminished, if it were common to an increased number of believers and devotees), but because it was a paying business to celebrate the rites and exact fees from the superstitious or the curious.

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[1] The same man appears in the Ormelian lists in the genitive as Kidramantos and Kidrama.

It is of course impossible to say how far Hipponax relates and exaggerates actual facts about Kikon, or how far he is inventing mere calumnies. There was no law of libel to restrain his scurrilous invective. It was for him to judge how far he could go in trying to amuse the public, and where he must stop, lest he might outrage public feeling and become liable to damages, illegally but effectively imposed. Certainly very wide limits were permitted to scurrility before a Greek public, provided that the hearers (or readers) were amused. It is, however, evident that Kikon was not a mere strolling priest, showing for money the rites of Artemis-Cybele to superstitious devotees. He was a high-class priest of the goddess, and his titles are here parodied ; but fees were doubtless exacted for celebrations of the mystic ritual of the goddess, which was performed not merely at regular intervals, but irregularly and occasionally as desired by important (and rich) persons for curiosity or religious devotion (so at Claros). Perhaps fees were scarce ; and there were doubtless often scandals where religious rites are celebrated for a fee (which doubtless was made a matter of bargain in the universal graeco-oriental fashion). Perhaps Kikon demanded a high fee from some visitor who refused it; and he was satirised as a priest that gets no fee.

The leading priestly families of Anatolia boasted to be descended from the god (in this case Kandaules-Herakles-Hermes)[1]: the priests sustained his character, wore his ceremonial dress, and often bore his name, or some sacred name, *e.g.* Sabos, Bacchos, Atis, Diogenes, Apollonios, etc. (for even Greek names like the two last are frequently found, see p. 209). That the name Kandaules, as applied to the god, was not complimentary, may be gathered from the lemmata κάνδωλος, explained κακουργός, ληστής, and perhaps κάνδη· γυνὴ ἥ καν (mutilated: omitted from M. Schmidt's single volume text). The same spirit is apparent in the often-quoted fr. 1.

In the following line Tzetzes gives τοιόνδε τι δάφνας κατέχων, breaking off evidently as soon as his purpose was attained by the mention of the laurels carried by Kikon. Bergk says that τοιόνδε must be governed by a verb, such as θεσπίζει from the context, or suggests τοιόνδ' ἔφη (for -δε τι); but no emendation of this kind shows fine quality. κατέχων can hardly be right. Bergk suggests κρᾶτ' ἔχων (for κρᾶτι); but in Homer Chryses has the laurels in his hand, and Hipponax is quoted to illustrate him. δάφνης κλάδον or κλῶνα is preferred by Bergk and Hiller-Crusius; but δάφνας, branches of laurel, seems original. I should prefer χειρί to κρᾶτι, but the alteration is too violent to be satisfactory. The name of the god is wanted before or after δάφνας: Apollo suits the metre.

Kandaules is often explained by scholars as the Lydian translation of κυνάγχης on the authority of Schol. ad Tzetz. *Chil.* (Cramer, *An. Ox.* p. 351. 7); but the statement is a mere inference of Tzetzes from the above passage of Hipponax (and is false); and Hesychius (as quoted above) gives the right interpretation, when he says that Kandaules was the Lydian name of Hermes. Μηονιστὶ Κανδαῦλα, then, is not an explanation of the epithet *κυνάγχε*, but a statement that the god's name in Maeonian speech was Kandaules. Probably the idea of "brigand" is nearer the meaning than "dog-choker,"[1] for the following word comes to us in the corrupt form *τοιόνδε*, which needs daring treatment. Hesychius, who aids so often in the interpretation of Hipponax, has *τεγοῦν· Λυδοὶ τὸν ληστήν.* It seems probable that the text behind Tzetzes was *τεγῶν δέ* (or perhaps *τεγῶνα*).[2] Kikon, this "son" of Kandaules, is called thief, as Kandaules was the companion of thieves. *ληστής* combines thieving with violence, like our "brigand," and unites two aspects of the Lydian god's character; in the assimilation to Hellenic gods those two aspects are separated and the god is grecised both as Hermes-Mercurius and as Herakles or Ares. The dedication *Ἄρηι καὶ Ἀρείαις* in Lycaonia[3] connects the Anatolian deity as a god of violence with his armed and warlike priestesses or Amazons. See the dedication to Benneus and his priests Benneitai, Le Bas-Waddington No. 774, also pp. 188 f., 220.

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[1] The priests at Claros were "Herakleidai from Ardus," a Herakleid king of Lydia.

The quotation breaks off in the middle of a line because the words needed or suited to illustrate Homer ended there, and it would be wrong to conjecture *χερσίν* as the last word of the scazon.[4] After *ἔχων* nothing can be allowed that corresponds directly to the words of Homer.

τεγουνδετι may conceal *τεγοῦν δὲ, χερί*, or possibly *τεγουνα, χερί*, with an easy correction. Then the correspondence with Homer's *στέμματα χερσὶν ἔχων* would be complete. *κατ* before *ἔχων* might arise through anticipation of *Ἀπόλλωνος*, the last of the verse. If a god's name is supplied, it must be Apollo. Chryses was the priest of Apollo ; and Apollo was the Greek god to whom suppliants applied with fillets or branches of laurel in their hands.

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[1] The epithet refers to the representation of the god holding in his outstretched hands two dogs, which he grasps by the necks.

[2] ΤΟΙΟΝ points to ΤCΓΩΝ rather than ΤCΓΟΥΝ: the rival texts of Hipponax presented different spellings. Either Ω or ΟΥ represents Anatolian *ου*.

[3] Unpublished inscription from Savatra.

[4] I proposed this, but discarded it for the reason stated above.

Another lemma in Hesychius has caused discussion : *Κίκων· ὁ Κίκων Ἀμυθάονος ἦν, οὐδὲν αἴσιον προθεσπίζων*, which all editors (Schneidewin, Meineke, M. Schmidt, Bergk, etc.) consider to be an explanation of this fr. of Hipponax. Schneidewin and Meineke (not Bergk) think that the last three words also come from Hipponax (though the words have no Hipponactian tone) ; and Hartung attributes to the Ephesian poet even the word *Ἀμυθάονος*. Brink ineptly conjectures *προσῆλθεν, οὐδὲν αἴσιον προθεσπίζων*. Hartung is condemned by Bergk as worse, for he places the words (omitting *οὐδέν*) in the preceding line, and attributes to Hipponax the wholly unsuitable verse : *Ἀμυθάονος παῖς, αἴσιον προθεσπίζων*. The reference to the mythical Amythaon[1] and the touch *οὐδὲν κτλ.* with its tragedian's tone should not be attributed to Hipponax. Probably the gloss alludes to the tribal ancestor of the Thracian people Kikones (Orpheus was a Kikonian). No restoration can give Hipponactian quality to this Hesychian gloss : it contains an explanation of and quotation from some poet, but has nothing to illustrate either Homer or Hipponax. It must therefore be wholly disregarded as being not Hipponactian, but tragic, or epic, or Orphic and hymnic.

Tzetzes says that the priests of the sun wore garlands on the head, but Homer and Hipponax speak of laurel or garlands in the hand of Chryses and of Kikon. The word *ἔχων* is common to both poets : the *στέμματα* of Homer are the *δάφνας* of Hipponax. The Stephanephoroi officials in Hellenistic cities of Asia Minor were representatives of the old hieratic or hieratic-dynastic families (*C.B. Phr.* i. p. 56 f.), and the wearing of crowns (not necessarily of laurel) was doubtless customary, alike in ancient and in later time.[2]

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[1] Amythaon was the father of Melampus, the seer, and Bias ; see p. 172.

[2] The high priests of the Emperors wore probably a golden crown in the province Galatia (according to the Acta of Paul and Thekla).

The carrying of stemmata in the hands was a different matter, and doubtless marked Chryses as a suppliant, and Metragyrtai as suppliant-beggars. Tzetzes in his comment mixes up the two different customs. Tzetzes probably regarded χερὶ ἔχων (in κατέχων) as an illustration of Homer's ἔχων ἐν χερσίν, but wandered off to the fashion of wearing garlands on the head.

This fragment seems to be completed by Bergk's 1 and 107. Of these fr. 1 is put together from two distinct fragments by Schneidewin (whom Bergk, etc., follow). The description of Kikon was elaborated through several lines, and 107 is a suitable description of such a degenerate priest as Hipponax paints: on it see § C of this chapter. If we put the three fragments together the whole would read:

Κίκων ὁ Κανδαύλητος, ἄμμορος καύης,
τεγοῦνα, χερὶ δάφνας ἔχων Ἀπόλλωνος
. . . . . .
βασαιγίκορος [δὲ . . ., ἀλλὰ]
συνουσιάζων θᾶσσον [ἢ κύων ?—οὗτος]
ἔβωσε Μαίης παῖδα, Κυλλήνης πάλμυν,
" Ερμῆ κυνάγχα, Μηονιστὶ Κανδαῦλα,
" φωρῶν ἑταῖρε, δεῦρό μοι σκαπαρδεῦσαι." [1]

I give Bergk's text (accepted by Hiller-Crusius), which is very near the words of Hipponax, in the last three verses.

" Kikon, scion of Kandaules (god and king in Lydia), thief (like his god), holding in his hand the laurel branch of Apollo [effeminate, wearing a woman's dress], servant of the city goddess [as he pretends to be, but] more lascivious than a dog—this man called loud his prayer to the son of Maia, the king of Cyllene: 'O Hermes, dog-choker, in Maeonian speech Kandaules, companion of thieves, hither! to my aid!'"

Apollo and Hermes and Herakles are found everywhere closely associated with the Anatolian cult as it was expressed in Greek forms and names. This is a fact of religious symbolism all over Asia Minor. Here we find it at Ephesus, in the mocking verses of Hipponax and on the coins of the city. In the B.M. Cat. Ephesus 238, "Apollon Hikesios of the Ephesians" is represented on a coin holding out his right hand to take from Artemis a laurel branch which she presents with her right hand as they stand facing one another. Apollo is thus commissioned by the goddess to answer suppliants who appeal for aid and purification. Then the priest as representing on earth the god in heaven, must have held in his hand the laurel, as Hipponax pictures him, but yet he continues equally to be Kandaules the arch-thief. The son is the father reborn. Such is the mystery of the divine life. "The Bull is the father of the Serpent and the Serpent of the Bull," according to the formula which was shouted loud in the Phrygian Mysteries[1] and imitated widely in the Roman period during the progressive assimilation and elaboration of the mystic ceremonial throughout the pagan world.[2]

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[1] συμμαχῆσαι, "aid me in my thieving enterprise, O god of thieves," is written over the last word in one authority: it may be only a guess, but it is a good guess.

Hermes and Herakles also appear on coins as gods of the State: Hermes in the usual Roman type, a nude figure, except for the chlamys, carrying purse and caduceus: Herakles on coins of the alliance 394–387 B.C., an infant strangling two serpents. These two types each occur only once. Artemis is the almost universal type at Ephesus, together with her favourite animals, bee and stag: also local surroundings, the rivers and the sea (ὠκεανός: Ephesus was a seaport still). One important exception occurs, where the imperial brothers Caracalla and Geta are represented as the twin Kabeiroi (see p. 273) on many coins. The appearance of this important Anatolian feature, accidental in its character, shows how intimately the Ephesian cult was related to the general Anatolian religions.

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[1] *ταῦρος δράκοντος καὶ πατὴρ ταύρου δράκων.*

[2] The writer has argued that such mutual influence and borrowing occurred during the second and third centuries: see Annual BSA, 1910–11, pp. 39 ff., 1912, p. 153 f.; *Ency. Brit.* ed. ix. art. "Mysteries"; Hastings' *Ency. Relig. and Ethics*, art. "Phrygians"; and *Dict. Bib.* v. art. "Religion of Greece and Anatolia"; *Aberystwith Studies*, iv. p. 1 ff.

CHAPTER XIII

THE WAGON (BENNA)

The following questions are suggested by the two forms or words Apeme, Apene: (1) Which is the older of these forms? *i.e.* was the original form apenna (apāna) or apemma (apāma)?[1] (2) What is the difference originally between Hamaxa and Apene, or are they only names for the same object belonging to two different languages? Both are Homeric.

On the coins of Ephesus the Apêmê or "Sacred Apêmê" is often represented, obviously some car of antique form used to carry sacred things—religion often preserves old forms and old customs—it is four-wheeled, and has a rounded cover like the modern Turkish araba; the driver sits within the cover (as in the modern Anatolian conveyance); it is hung with wreaths, and is drawn (so far as coins show) by a pair of mules. This might suggest that the apene or apeme was a wagon for conveyance of articles, while hamaxa was a war-chariot. On the other hand Harmamaxa was mainly used as a family wagon for the use of women and children. Strabo says that the Celts used apênai in war (p. 200, iv. 5. 2); but that may only mean that they carried the material of war in such wagons, not that they employed apênai as war-chariots, for which their form is not suitable. So Cyrus had in his army against Croesus camels to carry wheat, etc.; but that does not make the camel a war animal (as the horse is).

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[1] A similar doubt arises in respect of δάρχνα—δραχμή : πυθμήν—Skt. *budhna*: Ger. *bodem*, *boden* : modern Simav, ancient Sunawos, etc.

Further, the use of the form apême at Ephesus for a religious purpose might suggest that it was ancient, while apênê was a changed form in popular use; but this is far from certain, for apeme might be an Ionic form, while the popular form, apenna, may be both earlier and persistent.[1] The latter would then be the Greek form of benna, the Gallic, Messapian, and Thrako-Illyrian wagon (see Deecke, *Rh. Mus.* xxxvii. p. 385). Zeus Bennios, in an inscription of the Prepenisseis near Altyntash on the upper Tembris or Tembrogios, is the wagon-driving god, inventor of the car, who gave its use to men, the peasant god who improved agriculture and transport. In that case the ethnic name probably was Prepennisseis, with which in *J.H.S.*, 1887, p. 511, the Lycian Trebenna, Prebena, Trebena, Perbaina (*ai* = *e*), and Trebendai (Ptolemy), are brought into comparison and connexion.[2] It was suggested there that Praipenisseis (with Praipenissos implied in the ethnic) is formed from Prepenna or some similar form, resembling the obscure Trebenna-Prebena of Lycia. Propniasa of Ptolemy is a popular variant (if not a mere corruption).[3] The Lycian form, Trebenna, is assured by coins (A.D. 238–244); while the Byzantine forms are vulgar, and therefore nearer the original Anatolian pronunciation than the grecised name given on coins.[4] Probably Prebenna is native pronunciation, being a reduplicated form of a name derived from benna, while Trbenna is grecised by change of P to T by dissimulation: compare Perseus, the hero-founder of Tersos-Tarsos (P-TW-T), which gives rise to a meaningless Greek legend. Perseus-Bellerophontes was one hero.

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[1] I regard the Ionic dialect as a late development, and believe that the language of the Old-Ionians was closer to Aeolic than to fully developed Ionic; *i.e.* Kranna, not κρήνη, was the Anatolian original. Hence a form used in Ionic is not necessarily primitive.

[2] Those coins are so classed by Waddington and in B.M. Cat.; they are wrongly called Pamphylian in older numismatic classifications.

[3] Perhaps Prepenasa (cp. Olbasa, etc.), Prepniasa, Propniasa.

[4] It is found to be a safe principle that the rude native pronunciation is less hellenised than forms in literature or official records such as coins.

It must probably be inferred that the original form was benna or abenna, modified to apêmê in the Ionic dialect. The four-wheeled wagon was introduced, perhaps, by the nomadic tribes of the plains of Southern Russia and Roumania. The Asiatic nomad Turks or Turkmens used horse transport or camel transport, and employed domesticated animals; even forty-five years ago the wagon was little used on the Anatolian plateau, and was regarded as an innovation of the Moslem Tatars who came into the country from Russia, an innovation that should rather be called a re-introduction. The Turks (or rather the Turkmen nomads, who are always distinguished from the Turks, even by contemporary Byzantine historians, and by all modern usage in the country: though few modern travellers put the distinction clearly)[1] did away with the wagon, as they destroyed the agricultural stage and reduced society to the nomadic stage wherever they had the upper hand.[2]

A very rude kind of two-wheeled wagon, made with solid wheels connected rigidly with a wooden axle that revolved under the platform of the car with a frightfully loud creaking noise audible at a great distance, was used in those Turkish districts where agriculture was practised on any scale ;[1] and the four-wheeled springless wagon, *hiera apeme* of Ephesian coins (which was coming into use again as early as 1881),[2] was called a Tatar-araba. A wagon with springs, modified from the Tatar-araba, was beginning to be used by 1900, and quickly spread. All these vehicles were of native manufacture. Western vehicles were used in cities on the plateau, but were all imported. Now automobiles are becoming common; but the peasants still use the solid wheel and axle, revolving under the separate body of the cart.

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[1] On this distinction see *Hist. Geogr. As. Min.* p. 213. It is clearly stated by the Byzantine writers within fifty years after the Turks first appeared on the eastern frontier of Asia Minor towards 1070 (battle of Manzikert, 1071). Anna Comnena speaks of Tourkomanoi, ii. p. 284; while Nicetas, p. 156, and Cinnamus, 295, either call them Persai Nomades or describe them as nomads.

[2] The city population and the governing class continued to practise industries of various kinds and to maintain the Roman legal customs until the centralisation of authority at Constantinople gradually killed by oppression all old industries except where western European influence could maintain its influence.

The simple wagon, resting on an axle rigidly connected with a pair of wheels, was developed through the use of two (or three) round logs to move a heavy weight: the weight rested on two logs, and the third was ready to be slipped in at the front, as the weight was pushed on. The round log was cut to make a rigid wheel-and-axle; the wheel was solid; the harvest load was piled on a wooden frame which rested on the two axles; a pair of oxen yoked in front supplied the motive power; to the yoke was fastened the pole projecting from the wooden frame; the knot fastening the pole to the yoke seemed marvellous to the ignorant rustic; and thus was formed the wagon of Gordius, the gift of the god to his own people. The knot was an ingenious yet simple contrivance; the adaptation of various kinds of knot to various purposes is always puzzling to the unskilful, as much so to a modern landsman at sea as to those who admired the skill of Ulysses or of Gordius. The cart of Gordius was preserved at Gordium, and the knot furnished a test for the future lord of the land: in other words, his successor must understand how to perform the work of the farm. According to the legend Alexander proved himself heir by cutting the knot, or in another form of the tale he pulled out the pin, whereupon the knot dissolved itself.

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[1] In 1884 I had a horse which had never seen a wheeled car, and got into an agony of panic on every one of the few occasions when it came within sight or even hearing of any wheeled vehicle.

[2] I saw the Tatar-araba in the eastern part earlier than in the centre and west of the plateau. It spread quickly westwards; in 1886 we found it impossible to hire horses in Konia, and were informed that there were now hardly any horses for hire, because horse transport had been replaced by wagon transport. In 1882 it was still easy to hire horses almost anywhere, but the first time I saw a wheeled Tatar-araba was at Sivas in 1881.

This simple form of wagon is still to be seen in the fields (as I have said) at the present day. On 27th April 1926 we examined one. It can be constructed by any peasant out of wood ready to his hand (which gives it an advantage, where carpenters are unskilful and few).

If we set aside bronze chariots, which were used in Egypt under the nineteenth dynasty (specimens in Cairo and Geneva), the invention of the apenna and of the war-chariot belongs to the age of iron, the last and worst of the ages according to the ancient view. The ox-wagon may be useful in the harvest field, and wherever time is of no value; but it can be of no value in travelling and would be an encumbrance in war. The war-chariot belongs to the age of bold and lawless invention; it is not the gift of God, but an elaborated device of man for strife and slaughter, and probably the first maker was accursed, like Prometheus, who stole the fire from Zeus and gave it into the power of men: if the "Freeing of Prometheus" had been preserved we might perhaps have authority for considering that Prometheus was punished for placing fire at the service of lawless hands, whereas the divine intention was to keep it a gift divine granted to man only as a blessing of God, but too dangerous to be used recklessly and capriciously. The too daring inventiveness of man, and the boundless development of his knowledge and skill, are regarded by the religious poets as unlawful.

Monsieur S. Reinach considers that the car with free-revolving wheels in Europe came in with the age of iron about 1100 B.C. The war-chariot as an effective weapon must be swift. Jabin, king of Canaan, had 900 chariots of iron, and the effect of these on an untrained rustic army must have been tremendous, so long as they could move more rapidly than men; but they proved useless and an encumbrance in the Valley of Megiddo, when the Kishon was swollen by a rain-storm and the ground unsuited for their overwhelming charge at full speed.

The benna-apenna-apeme, so far as known, had a wheel with six or eight spokes: the Ephesian coins seem to vary; but the number is more likely to be cut short by the engraver than exaggerated. Eight is therefore the probable number. Such a wheel certainly is made to revolve round the axle-end. The wheel of the primitive ox-wagon was rigidly connected with the axle. The wheel may be indicated apparently by four spokes; but that means only that it was constructed in four solid pieces of wood, held together by a rim (which must have been of metal).

The Hittite name Tuana has been explained by Sayce as the town of chariots (*tua*), and tuati was a chariot-driver, grecised as Teattes and Tot (Tos): see Chapter XII. Probably a war-chariot was denoted by *tua*. In Homer the Hamaxa and the Apene seem to be practically equivalent, and never to be used of a war-chariot: both are drawn by mules. The war-chariot, ἅρμα δίφρος, essedum, was drawn by two, three, or four horses, the diphros was strictly the frame or framework, placed on the pair of wheels and the axle, but the name is used also both for the entire chariot and for a species of chair or seat. Sayce shows me a sealing on which is a representation of a chariot drawn by four horses, with the driver seated on a seat or high stool, placed far back: the date is about 2300 B.C., and it was excavated near Kaisari of Cappadocia, close to the Halys.

As to the initial *a* in Greek *apenna*, compared with Thraca-Illyrian *benna*, Sayce points out that "the Hittite name for wagon is *kuana*: *benna* therefore represents an older *kwenna* or *gwenna*" (as *bana* and *bonok* correspond to γυνή). The prothetic vowel in *apenna* is usual before a double consonant *kw*. Phennion-Median road, *i.e.* road traversable by wagons, a word attributed by Hesychius to the Pamphyloi,[1] must be a derivative from *benna*. This phennion was evidently the wagon-road from the Troad up the Rhyndakos to Syria, the traces of which Pausanias had seen on his travels in Maeonia and north-western Phrygia.[2] The traces of such roads, apparently worn deep by wheels in rock, are found occasionally in Anatolia. The most important that I know are west of Ambararassi (Serpek) in Lycaonia, on the great Pisidian Route leading east to the pass of the Cilician Gates; but I have not been there since 1882, and Calder, who was in the neighbourhood in 1909, did not observe the wheel-tracks, nor did Callander in 1908. Such traces are easily missed by one who passes ten yards away to one side or other.

The god on the car, Benneus or Zeus Bennios,[3] was the peasant-god, the trainer of men in the art of agriculture. He lives in legend as Gordius, whose ox-drawn car was preserved as a holy relic at the Phrygian Gordion. Deecke, *loc. cit.*, connects with benna the Illyric name Bennus and the Illyrian and South-Italian family name Bennius, also the Thracian town Benna, car-town (Anatolian Tuana); compare Hamaxa in Bithynia, Hamaxia in Cilicia, Hamaxantia an Attic deme, Hamaxitos in the Troad. The dedication "to Zeus and the Benneitai priests that bear his name

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[1] "Pamphylian" probably means only Anatolian, or taken from a dialect of Anatolia.

[2] See above, p. 169 f.

[3] The inscription mentioning Zeus Bennios, also Benneus of the Soenoi, was published first by Lebas-Waddington, No. 774; see also *Hist. Geogr. A.M.* p. 144. Soa occurs in the names Souagela (Steph. Byz.), Suassos (probably for Souassos, place of the grave, equivalent to Ballenaion, property of the Ballen, king), the city of the Tomb of Midas: Waddington made a town Benneisoa, instead of separating the two words. Soa was the ordinary name used in inscriptions; but Benneisoa, Tomb of Benneus, is possible, although improbable. Benneuekê was the "land of the Benneu(s)." *βεννει Σοηνῶν* was added in more native form at the end of the inscription.

(and are his descendants)," found near Altyntash, belongs to a familiar class ; and Zeus here must obviously be understood as Benneus, in more grecised form Zeus Bennios. This whole valley stretching west and north-west from Altyntash, was an estate of the Emperors, and retained Anatolian forms and customs very late. The Emperor ruled the people as their god and lord, identified with the old native god, and the Benneitai were his priests, and interpreters of his will.

CHAPTER XIV

BROTHERHOODS AND PHRATRAI

At Hierapolis, in the Lycus valley, the grave of Mar(cus) ? Julius Macedonicus and his wife Ar(ei?)a[1] Ioulia, which was evidently made by them, and strictly confined to themselves, bears an epitaph in which several features are very characteristic of Anatolian custom. The epitaph is probably of the second or even the first century (Ar(ei)a would permit a first-century date); the only imperial name is Julius, if Areia or any purely Anatolian restoration be accepted. The penalty for violation of the tomb is only 500 denarii: whereas after the first century the penalty imposed increased greatly, to thousands and to tens of thousands of denarii. Cichorius, however, read Ai(li)a, which marks the second century. A sum of money was invested by the children of the deceased, the income of which was to be given to the Standard-bearers (Semeiaphoroi) of Apollo Archegetes the Leader, the great god of Hierapolis (also often called Sairbenos simply or Apollo Sairbenos), for the purpose of laying a garland on the grave, on each tenth month (day omitted), and on each first month, third day. The interest was to amount to

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[1] I conjecture Ar(ei)a Julia, the former being a native name (mother of Milatos). The text was very difficult to read in 1887, when Hogarth and I saw it (ll. 1, 2 were copied by Hogarth, 3-6 by me). We were only a day there. Shortly afterwards Humann, as engineer, Cichorius, Judeich, and Winter spent ten days there and made a thorough examination and plan of the city, exposing to the light many stones whose inscriptions could not be seen by us. Cichorius has Ai[li]a: see their *Hierapolis*.

250 denarii in each case, *i.e.* 500 denarii per annum. These days were evidently the anniversaries of the death of father and mother, and the father was evidently one of the Flag-bearers of Apollo Archegetes in some great procession (probably the exodus of the god, viz. the occasion when his image was carried from his temple through the city and taken back again).

There are several differences in the text as published from the copy of Cichorius (who omits l. 6 entirely) and ours. Acting on probability I prefer τόπος Μαρ. to Hogarth's βωμός in l. 1, and Hogarth's Αρ. to Cichorius' Αἰ[λί]α in 2, 3. In ll. 3-5 we agree; but Cich. has τῇ φίσκῳ where I have τῷ φίσκῳ. Both genders (and even the neuter) are used farther east, but the proper masculine is far more common, and the uncommon is perhaps preferable in this case. The penalty is doubtful, for Hogarth conjectures boldly 50 ἢ [ὅ]σ᾽ ἂν δέοι, "or as much as may be settled (according to legal decision)." Cichorius in this epitaph gives no epigraphic text, but only notes below the text. I have at this point ΗΛ, Cichorius only Α, from which he and I elicit [ἔδ]οσαν δὲ οἱ. The stone, as we agree, has Μακεδονικοί, which Cichorius leaves, whereas I conjecture υ for ι, viz. "the [sons] of Macedonicus." The final sigma of Semeiaphorois was omitted by the stonecutter (so my copy, Cich. omits this first part of 5). The numbers at the end are untrustworthy, and the last line is given only by me, but admitted to have existed, though illegible, by Cichorius.[1]

It may be plausibly assumed that the Flag-bearers were a sort of brotherhood, or Phratra, in the service of the god (as we shall see in the course of this chapter). Apollo Archegetes was radiated as the Anatolian sun-god, but bears the lyre when he is grecised. Coins of the city are our authority.

While it is not stated in the epitaph that the Flag-bearers were put in charge of the sanctity of the grave, they receive a considerable reward for placing a garland on the tomb twice in each year; and this reward would naturally be forfeited if the tomb were violated, so that it was to their interest to prevent violation.

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[1] Hogarth published the inscriptions which we read at Hierapolis in the *Journ. of Hellenic Studies*, 1888.

There is no other example known of Flag-bearers forming a sort of brotherhood united in the service of the god, and marching in his progress through the city; but the interpretation seems quite natural.

The true explanation of Semeiaphoroi probably lies between that which I have suggested and that which Hogarth printed, "a class of professional wonder-workers, like the dervishes in modern Moslem countries." They were a guild or brotherhood, united in the worship of a god or a goddess, as all unions and festivals were. The dervishes are not an integral part of Mohammedanism. They are a survival of ancient custom, grafted on to Islam. The Mevlevi Sheikhs drink wine openly, which no true Moslem does. We have been offered by them champagne, of which I drank very sparingly, and which my wife politely declined, and the Chief, the Tchelebi Effendi, finished the bottle. They retain other pre-Mohammedan customs, and some of these are pre-Christian also.

They met under the religious form at Hierapolis of the worship of Apollo, north-west of Pisidian Antioch in the so-called Tekmoreian country in the worship of Artemis of the Limnai. They made voluntary contributions towards a common fund, in order to make vessels and works of architecture and sculpture for their common religion. They lingered to the end of paganism on the great estates of the Roman Emperors, for the reigning Emperor took the place of their god, and was worshipped as their Lord; this connexion cemented the alliance of the Empire and the old religion against the Christian faith. The peasants were literally the *pagani*. They constituted a sort of trade-guilds according to their kind of work.

Down to 1880–1890 it was literally true that the porters came from one remote district to make money in Smyrna or Constantinople, the confectioners from another, and so on. The older members of the guild passed on their knowledge and their trading connexion to their friends and relations. There were doubtless pass-words and secret formulae among them, though as to this I have of course no certain information. The head of the guild in each case directed the operations of all, and laid down the law. No one could work against his will and authorisation. If one wanted horses to hire, the chief of the guild found them and named the price. Such was the case when I first knew modern Turkey; but great changes have occurred during fifty years.

Mr. Buckler's important paper on Trade Unions in the Roman time[1] has an intimate bearing on this subject. The Emperor and his representative governing any province could not permit society to suffer from any extra-imperial union or any disturbance caused to trade or the economy of the land or the cities. Such unions were older than the cities, and lasted longer, and were not regarded with any favour in the city system. The Greek or Hellenistic cities were organised according to the rights of the individual, and regarded trade unions and fraternities generally with suspicion and even hostility. So the Roman Catholic Church opposes Freemasonry, as a union outside of itself. The Roman Emperors, as we know from Trajan's letter to Pliny,[2] would not even permit a guild of firemen to be formed, lest it should develop into a political danger to the State and the one lawful unity of the Empire. Where, however, the original Anatolian system prevailed, the Phratrai flourished; and they have been transmitted through the Seljuk Turks to the Ottoman Turks (Osmanli) in the form described.

Ibn Batuta, an Arab from Tangier, mentions this institution of brotherhoods in the Anatolian towns of which he speaks. He saw the "Brothers" (phratrai) at Antalia, Burdur,[3] Ladhik, Kunia; and he implies that they existed generally in the Seljuk towns; the date is about A.D. 1333. He calls those towns Turkoman, using that word less correctly than Anna Comnena two centuries earlier, or any experienced traveller at the present day. As he says, "no people are more courteous to strangers, more readily supply them with food and other necessaries, or are more opposed to oppressors than they are. At Adalia (Antalia) the brotherhood was a society of 200 silk merchants. At Burdur they invited him to a feast in a garden outside the town."

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[1] *Anatolian Studies*, edited by Buckler and Calder.

[2] See Pliny's letter to Trajan, and the Emperor's reply.

[3] Antalia, a common pronunciation of Adalia till recent time: Burdur and Buldur are almost interchangeable.

It is an interesting feature of Ibn Batuta's account that the young men are the active and energetic.[1] The person who is termed "The Brother" is one about whom persons of the same occupation, or even foreign youths, who happen to be destitute, collect and whom they constitute their president. He builds a cell,[2] and in this he puts a horse, a saddle, and whatever implements may be wanting. He then attends daily upon his companions and assists them with whatever they may happen to want. In the evening they come to him and bring all they have got, which is sold to purchase food, fruit, etc., for the use of the cell. If a stranger should happen to arrive in their territory [*i.e.* the land belonging to the village or town], they get him among them, and with this provision they entertain him. If, however, no traveller arrives, then they assemble to eat up their provisions. They are therefore called "the youths," and their president "the Brother."

This account corresponds with the somewhat broken-down form of hospitality that exists in Turkey in modern times, hearty, simple, but given by the whole village or by the wealthiest man in the village. There is a guest-house, where every stranger is welcomed. The elders of the village gather there every night, and sit and converse. It was formerly the privilege and honour of every man who aspired at distinction to have his own guest-house.

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[1] So the young men rose up and carried out Ananias and Sapphira to their burial.—Acts v.

[2] The word "cell" in Lee's translation is the modern Musafir-Oda, *i.e.* guest-house.

Our men, as we entered a village before 1890, used to inquire whose was the best house, and we rode there and made ourselves at home for the evening. Even a very surly and proud Moslem could not deny us anything. Hospitality was his duty and the duty of the village.

The chief duty of the Bektash dervishes, after their power was weakened by the massacre of the Janissaries in 1826, was to entertain lavishly, for the Janissaries were all Bektash. Hadji Bektash was the first chief and patron saint of the Janissaries, and (as I have been told, though I can quote no written authority) their leader at the capture of Mudania about 1328. The principal seats of the dervishes in Asia Minor are Hadji Bektash in the bend of the Halys, between Kir-Sheher (Mokissos ?) and the crossing of the river that leads direct to Kaisari, Seidi-Ghazi (Nakoleia), bearing the name of a sort of mythical personage widely known in Anatolia, and Sejah-ed-Din between Seidi-Ghazi and Eski-Sheher. Sejah-ed-Din was maintained in princely style as late as 1908, when sixty strangers sat down to supper, and four more of us were entertained apart; two ladies in the oda of the sheikh, and my son and I in the selamlik.

Some stress must be laid on this matter, as it bears upon many old references to hospitality; and especially upon various Christian inscriptions of the fourth and even the third century. "The friend of all" was a phrase taken up by the Christians, but was of pagan origin: it is like St. Paul's expression, "Gaius mine host and of the whole church." In a Lycaonian epitaph, which we dug in scraps out of a Turkish grave,[1] a presbyter is praised as the helper of widows, orphans, strangers, and poor. Another presbyter at Nova Isaura is styled the helper of needy widows. The most remarkable example, however, is found in an epitaph, which I saw complete and clear in 1905, and Calder and Cox saw in a broken condition in 1924. They have published it with divergent reading.

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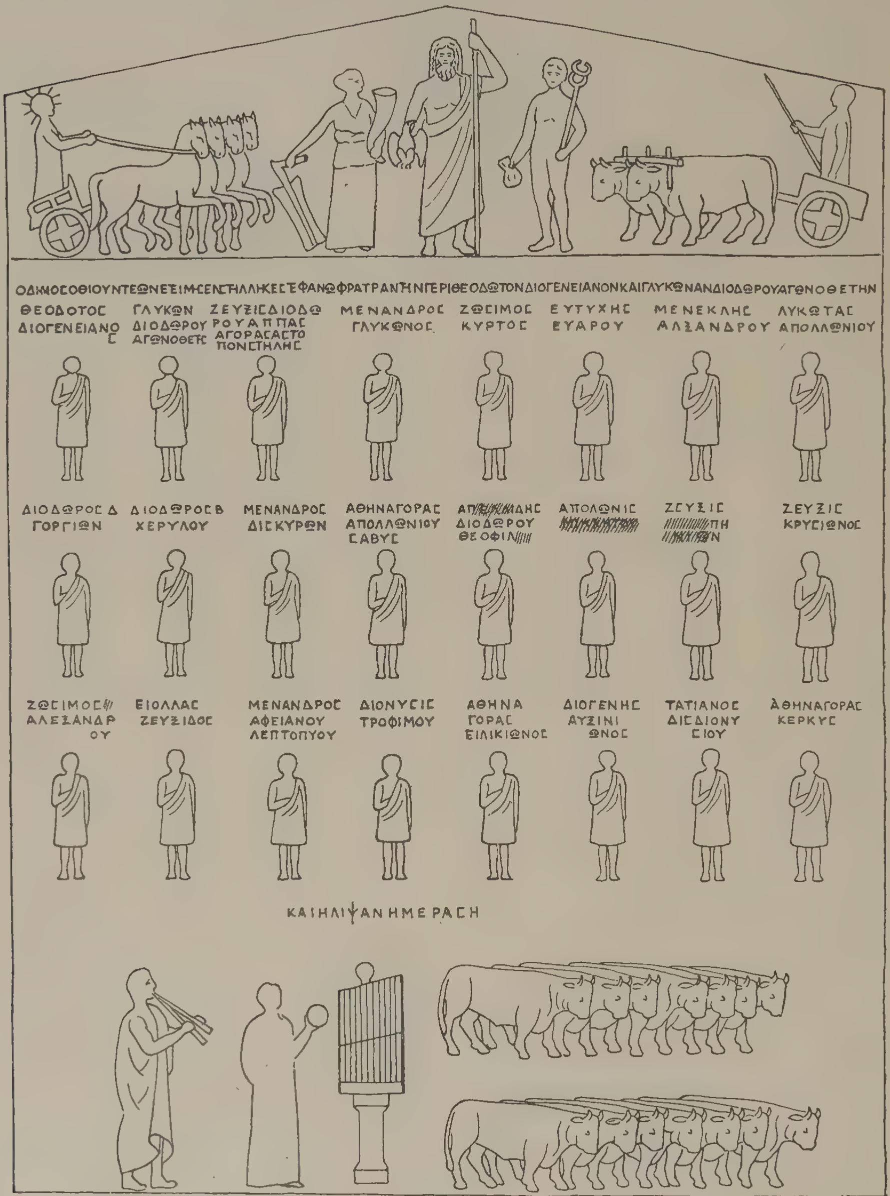
[1] In the cemetery at Alkaran, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1905, p. 167.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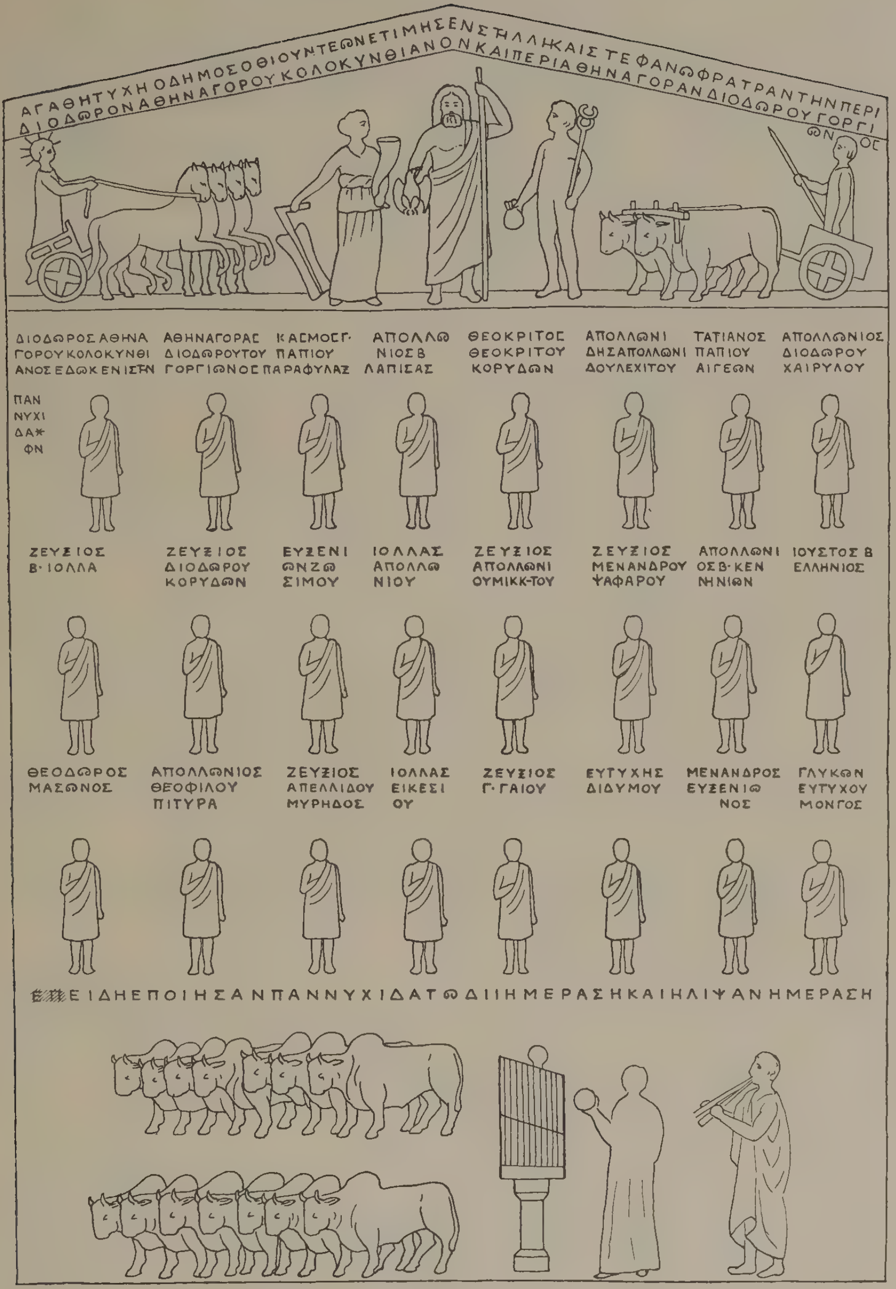
ΕΥΤΥΧΗϹ ΕΥΑΡΟΥ
ΜΕΝΕΚΛΗϹ ΑΛΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ
ΛΥΚΩΤΑϹ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ
ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟϹ Δ ΓΟΡΓΙΩΝ
ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟϹ Β ΧΕΡΥΛΟΥ
ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟϹ ΔΙϹΚΥΡΩΝ
ΑΘΗΝΑΓΟΡΑϹ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ ϹΑΒΥϹ
ΑΠ ΑΔΗϹ ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΘΕΟΦΙΛ
ΑΠΟΛΩΝΙϹ
ΖϹΥΞΙϹ ΠΗ Ν
ΖΕΥΞΙϹ ΚΡΥϹΙΩΝΟϹ
ΖΩϹΙΜΟϹ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ
ΕΙΟΛΛΑϹ ΖΕΥΞΙΔΟϹ
ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟϹ ΑΦΕΙΑΝΟΥ ΛΕΠΤΟΠΥΟΥ
ΔΙΟΝΥϹΙϹ ΤΡΟΦΙΜΟΥ
ΑΘΗΝΑΓΟΡΑϹ ΕΙΛΙΚΙΩΝΟϹ
ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗϹ ΑΥΞΙΝΙΩΝΟϹ
ΤΑΤΙΑΝΟϹ ΔΙϹΔΙΟΝΥϹΙΟΥ
ΑΘΗΝΑΓΟΡΑϹ ΚΕΡΚΥϹ
ΚΑΙΗΛΙΨΑΝΗΜΕΡΑϹΗ

Fig. 1.


ΑΓΑΘΗΤΥΧΗ ΟΔΗΜΟΣ Ο ΘΙΟΥΝΤΕΩΝ ΕΤΙΜΗΣΕΝ ΣΤΗΛΛΗ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩ ΦΡΑΤΡΑΝ ΤΗΝ ΠΕΡΙ
ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΓΟΡΟΥ ΚΟΛΟΚΥΝΘΙΑΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΘΗΝΑΓΟΡΑΝ ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΓΟΡΓΙ
ΩΝΟΣ
ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΑ
ΓΟΡΟΥ ΚΟΛΟΚΥΝΘΙ
ΑΝΟΣ ΕΔΩΚΕΝ ΙΣΤΗΝ
ΑΘΗΝΑΓΟΡΑΣ
ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ
ΓΟΡΓΙΩΝΟΣ
ΚΑΣΜΟΣ Γ·
ΠΑΠΙΟΥ
ΠΑΡΑΦΥΛΑΞ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩ
ΝΙΟΣ Β
ΛΑΠΙΣΑΣ
ΘΕΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ
ΘΕΟΚΡΙΤΟΥ
ΚΟΡΥΔΩΝ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ
ΔΗΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ
ΔΟΥΛΕΧΙΤΟΥ
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ΑΙΓΕΩΝ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ
ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ
ΧΑΙΡΥΛΟΥ
ΠΑΝ
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ΔΑ*
ΦΝ
ΖΕΥΞΙΟΣ
Β· ΙΟΛΛΑ
ΖΕΥΞΙΟΣ
ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ
ΚΟΡΥΔΩΝ
ΕΥΞΕΝΙ
ΩΝ ΖΩ
ΣΙΜΟΥ
ΙΟΛΛΑΣ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩ
ΝΙΟΥ
ΖΕΥΞΙΟΣ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ
ΟΥ ΜΙΚΚ-ΤΟΥ
ΖΕΥΞΙΟΣ
ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ
ΨΑΦΑΡΟΥ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ
ΟΣ Β· ΚΕΝ
ΝΗΝΙΩΝ
ΙΟΥΣΤΟΣ Β
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΟΣ
ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ
ΜΑΣΩΝΟΣ
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ΖΕΥΞΙΟΣ
Γ· ΓΑΙΟΥ
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ΜΟΝΓΟΣ
ΕΙΔΗ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΝ ΠΑΝΝΥΧΙΔΑ ΤΩ ΔΙΙ Η ΜΕΡΑΣ Η ΚΑΙ Η ΛΙΨΑΝ Η ΜΕΡΑΣ Η

FIG. 2.

Cox agrees with me. Calder's facsimile and text as restored in facsimile differs in the critical word: Koulas to Solon *the* stranger, etc.

Solon was the stranger, hospitably received by the village in the immemorial style. He died there, and was buried by Koulas, and a simple inscription erected over his grave, "Koulas to Solon the guest: a memorial."[1] The host buried the guest.

The following monument (Fig. 3) throws some light on Figs. 1 and 2.

In copying it I had bad luck. I was taken by a stranger into the court of a house at Kabalar at sunset. I should have made friends with (*i.e.* bought leave of) the family, but I was too eager to make use of the short time of light, and omitted the preliminary bargaining. In fact, I at first thought that the stranger who had introduced me was the owner; and I rewarded him, which annoyed the rightful owner and his family.

It is unfortunate that this relief is so much defaced, and the stone broken. It would be instructive to know what divine attendant at the left-hand top balanced Hermes (with caduceus and purse) on the right. The goddess Cybele with her attendant lions sits on a throne in the round central pediment; she stretches her hands to fondle the lions, and rests her feet on a high footstool. The inscription probably should be restored as follows: it was irregularly engraved between defaced small reliefs under the rounded pediment:

> The Phratra [of the Saloudeis and of the M]elokometai dedicated (the monument ?). The chiefs of the Melokometai [honoured] Apollonides, son of Magas [and] Sarbalaeites, (resident) at Salouda, son of Nikomachus, the son of Aristides: the work being under the charge of Apollonides, the son of Apollonides, the [priest ?] and . . . men of Salouda.

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[1] I saw the complete inscription in 1909; Cox agrees with my copy in reading on the fragment ενῳ; Calder mentions the discrepancy and restores τῷ ὑ]ειῷ. I published it in a paper on "The Church of Lycaonia during the Fourth Century," in *Luke the Physician, and other Studies in Religious History*, p. 360, but missed the main point, translating "*a* stranger" instead of "*the* stranger."

Then follows a list of the Phratra: beginning with "men of Salouda" twice repeated:

Alexander son of Apollonides, native of Mêlokôme, Attalion son of Areides, native of Mêlokôme, Menophilos, son of Menophilos of Mêlokôme,

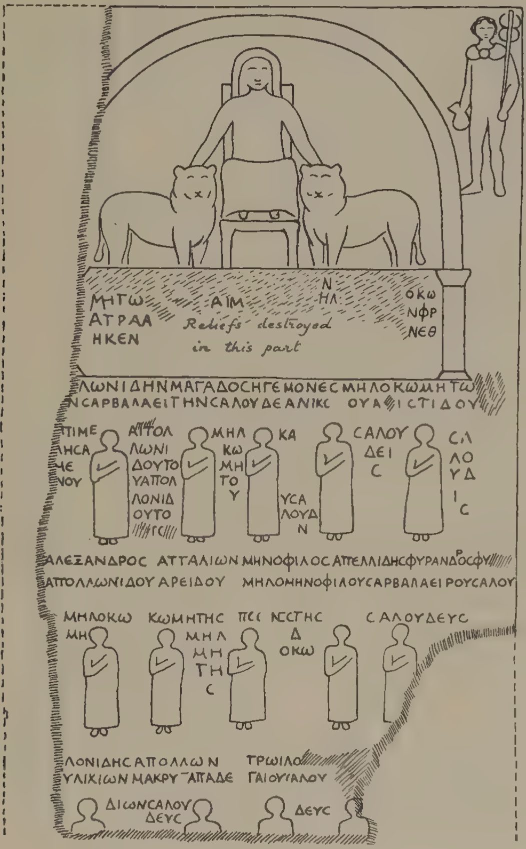
ΜΗΤΩ
ΑΤΡΑΑ
ΗΚΕΝ
ΑΙΜ
Ν
ΗΛ
ΟΚΩ
ΝΦΡ
ΝΕΘ
Reliefs destroyed in this part
ΛΩΝΙΔΗΝΜΑΓΑΔΟCΗΓΕΜΟΝΕCΜΗΛΟΚΩΜΗΤΩ
ΝCΑΡΒΑΛΑΕΙΤΗΝCΑΛΟΥΔΕΑΝΙΚC ΟΥΑ ΙCΤΙΔΟΥ
ΤΙΜΕ ΗCΑ ΜΕ ΝΟΥ
ΑΠΟΛ ΛΩΝΙ ΔΟΥΤΟ ΥΑΠΟΛ ΛΟΝΙΔ ΟΥΤΟ ΓC
ΜΗΛ ΚΩ ΜΗ ΤΟ Υ
ΚΑ ΥCΑ ΛΟΥΔ Ν
CΑΛΟΥ ΔΕΙ C
CΑ ΛΟ ΥΔ Ι C
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟC ΑΤΤΑΛΙΩΝ ΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟC ΑΠΕΛΛΙΔΗCΦΥΡΑΝΔΡΟCΦΥ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΟΥ ΑΡΕΙΔΟΥ ΜΗΛΟΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΥCΑΡΒΑΛΑΕΙ ΡΟΥCΑΛΟΥ
ΜΗΛΟΚΩ ΜΗ
ΚΩΜΗΤΗC
ΜΗΛ ΜΗ ΤΗ C
ΠΕC ΝΕCΤΗC
Δ ΟΚΩ
CΑΛΟΥΔΕΥC
ΛΟΝΙΔΗCΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ
ΥΛΙΧΙΩΝ ΜΑΚΡΥ ΑΠΑΔΕ
ΤΡΩΙΛΟ
ΓΑΙΟΥCΑΛΟΥ
ΔΙΩΝCΑΛΟΥ ΔΕΥC
ΔΕΥC

Fig. 3.

Pes[e]nestes? fourth of the name, [of Mêl[okô]me?], Apellides, son of Sarbalaeis of Salouda, Phurandros son of Phu[rand]ros of Salou[da], [Apol]lonides [. .]vlichion, . . ., Apollonides Makry dion of Salouda, [next name uncertain, Papade]: Troïlós son of Gaios of Salouda: [rest of list destroyed].[1]

This monument is like the two preceding; but it is so much ruder and more broken that I have given an attempt at a translation (which I cannot guarantee), in order to show how difficult it is. There is only one Roman name, the typical Gaius. It is perhaps the earliest of all: and is so rude and badly arranged that the task of decipherment would have been very hard, even if it had been better preserved. Probably it would have been more instructive, if it had been better preserved.

The obscure and much-disputed problems relating to various classifications of population in the states of Greece, especially Athens, at different stages of their development will be noted in part in Chapter XVII. It must, however, be kept in mind always.

In a general way it is known that birth and family formed the original foundation of the state; but in the Roman period of the Aegean world there was little difficulty in passing into a new state without abandoning one's original citizenship. Roman citizens, like St. Paul, seem to have been accepted as citizens in any city of the East where they resided: "The people (demos) and the Romans who enjoy the citizenship along with them" is a phrase of law and administration.[2] The same person is in that age described as citizen of two or half-a-dozen states; and probably, if such a man cared to do so, he could exercise his right of citizenship in each of his states, if he happened to be present or to be permanently resident there. Finally all free men were made Romans.

Such citizenship ceases to have any real value. It is too vague and undefined to be worth having, except as a compliment. Like the term "Founder" (*κτίστης*), it was given indiscriminately to any person who had been a benefactor of the State or made any foundation (however trifling) in the State. Successful athletes were often made citizens of many cities, through which their career led.

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[1] Antigonos, son of Pyrrandas, is the epitaph on an Acarnanian tomb (*S.E.G.* i. p. 60, No. 244).

[2] ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ συμπολιτευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι.

Even the term Demos, naturally meaning the whole body of citizens in a state, especially as assembled in council and voting on decrees and acting in common, is very far from definable in the same way in different cities. The expression "it seemed good to the demos to do so and so"[1] is so common, and apparently so simple, that it can be translated by the tiro, and yet it cannot be clearly defined by the most learned, for its meaning varies according to the state and the age. In many cities this expression means the entire free state assembled in council,[2] but in Attica, a very small country, there are said by different authorities to have been 100 or 174 demoi, and the names of 182 are known.

That the term Phratra was an old Anatolian institution is apparent from the accompanying illustrations. Their situation, even, is instructive. I had traversed the country several times without hearing about the village near which they lie. By accident on my last journey across that region we heard of them. We had stopped to rest and eat some lunch, when a wayfarer came along and sat down with us. The usual questions were exchanged; and this man advised us to go to Kodja-Geuzlar, where there were some wonderful stones; but "don't stay there for the night," he added. As his directions for the way involved turning back a distance of three hours, and the day was well advanced and our camp had gone on, and was to be waiting for us, four hours farther on, it seemed best for my wife to go on with two of our men and for me to turn back and copy the stones, if there proved to be any,[3] and hurry back to camp late.

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[1] ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ.

[2] Especially the demos assembled in the Attic ekklesia to consider and pass decrees. Under the Roman Empire its business was mainly or wholly formal.

[3] The life of the archaeological traveller consists of ten disappointments to one success. One never expects much from such reports; but all must be investigated.

My Turk and I found the village easily: it was situated a little way down the steep side of Maeander gorge; but there was nothing worth looking at in it. My Turk whispered that the village was Kizil-bash (red-head), a name applied indiscriminately to all sorts of Moslem heretics, as well as to the Persian followers of Ali, the Shiya sect. These people had taken up their abode in a secluded position, where they might readily escape observation. The members of the Sunni sect despise and abhor them, and avoid all intercourse with them. In this case intercourse was necessary, and my man found after some inquiries that there were two large carved stones farther down the side of the gorge. These we could reach after a rather steep descent. They were big stelae, about 8 feet high, well cut of some volcanic material (I do not possess scientific knowledge enough to distinguish with certainty), lying sideways on the mountain side, and both covered with writing and figures. The task of copying them was evidently going to be long and difficult, and I regretted the absence of my wife to help in the drawing and in the measuring of them. There was barely room to stand beside them, in order to get a complete view. In their situation they could not be photographed: moreover, my wife was the photographer of the party, and carried the apparatus. It was, however, not difficult to make a drawing of the general character, for almost all the twenty-four human figures (members of the Phratra) were exactly of the same simple type, and the representations at the top in the pediment, and at the bottom, were of easy familiar character, which could readily be drawn, as appears from the two Figures 1 and 2. By the time I had finished the sun was setting, and it was impossible to reach camp in the dark over a rough and broken country. When we had scrambled up the mountain side to the village, darkness had already set in; and the problem was how to

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Occasionally a report proves the herald of a really important discovery. Yet I have made a journey of fifteen days continuously and found nothing, investigating a report of great ruins.

spend the night. The hatred between these village sectaries and the Sunni population of Turkey was so intense as to make the situation awkward. The sectaries shunned all intercourse with their neighbours ; they were situated on no road or path ; and they had no village guest-house such as is almost universal in the country. My Turk was very unwilling to spend the night in the village ; but there was no other resource. He inquired about hospitality and a guest-house, whereupon some people led us to what seemed like a dog-kennel beside a heap of garbage on the outside of the village. We came back, and on the way found a decent-looking house with an open veranda accessible by a wooden stairway or ladder, and looking on the street, not (as usual) on a courtyard behind a gateway (see Chapter IX.). I went up the ladder, sat down, and announced my determination to spend the night there, leaving it to the Turk to bargain for the hospitality, which he did successfully at a moderate sum. The residents in the house departed ; and promised to send some food, which they did with perfect good faith. By the light of a candle I studied my copy of this unexpected and wonderful find, until it was so familiar that I could almost reproduce it from memory. Very early next morning we departed, glad to get away safely without any dissension.

The date of the two inscribed stelae is difficult to determine with any exactness. One, which I call Fig. 1, is evidently the older; the other, Fig. 2, is perhaps about a generation later. A considerable number of the same names and persons occur in both lists, but the chiefs are different, so that they can hardly be separated by less than twenty to thirty years. The Phratra was evidently limited to twenty-four members. The two monuments belong to the Roman period, for the names Gaius and Justus occur ; but the former is the commonest and simplest Roman name, and the latter is evidently the translation of an Anatolian personal name ; still it is a Latin rendering, which shows that the Roman age had begun. That, however, in Asia near Hierapolis and Laodicea and Colossae does not necessarily imply a very late date, for Asia became a Roman province in 133 B.C., and Roman milestones of the first governor are found much farther east.

Phratria is the usual form in Greek, Phratra is the form employed by Homer and in all the Asian documents (some of which we shall quote in the sequel). That both words have practically the same meaning, and that both are derived from the old word corresponding to the Latin *frater*, a brother, is beyond doubt. The members of a Phratra (Phratores) are connected as being like brothers,[1] not from having one father, as a family was built up according to the genealogical system.

The Phratores are associated in a common religion, or by some common bond of unity, and not by heredity. Our word "brotherhood" has a similar wide sense: the members of a brotherhood are often held together by some bond, political (like communists or socialists), religious (like the friars in a monastery), or otherwise, but without any blood relationship: persons of different race and country may call themselves "brothers" in virtue of some theory or belief, more or less vague; and such "brothers," if left to mutual agreement purely voluntary, and not held together by a common opposition to any externally imposed bond which all agree in disliking, will often turn to mutual hatred within their own brotherhood.

A striking saying is that of Nestor in *Iliad*, ix. 63-4: he that provokes war within the demos, *i.e.* the general unity of different states in some common cause (such as the war against Troy), is excluded from any brotherhood, unprotected by the divine laws of any state, an outlaw from the family hearth.[2] Here three different kinds of unity are specified, the Phratra, the State, and the Family: the last being the simplest and most natural, the second being the widest and wholly free from any semblance of blood-unity, the first being intermediate and maintaining some pretence of hereditary relationship.

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[1] "Kasignêtos" meant a cousin in classical Greek: terms of relationship were rather loosely used in the large semi-patriarchal households of Anatolia. A young bride was "nympha" to her brothers-in-law and parents-in-law.

[2] The three adjectives remind one of the wonderful line in Hamlet, "unhousel'd, disappointed, unaneled." In Homer the words are ἀφρήτωρ, ἀθέμιστος, ἀνέστιος.

Moreover, the reliefs at the top and bottom are distinctly Roman and Greek. Hermes is of the Roman type. The goddess of Good Fortune, with her rudder and cornucopiae, is characteristic of Roman and Greek Imperial coins. The date, therefore, is not likely to be earlier than Augustus, perhaps later. The artist who carved the two stelae was certainly brought from Laodicea or Hierapolis: he was no village workman. The ideas which he was called on to represent were done by him in the style of the cities on the great highway from the Roman capital of Asia to the East. He was familiar with, and used to, Graeco-Roman art.

An important criterion is that no name of an emperor occurs. There is no Julius, no Claudius, and no Flavius. Knowledge of Roman things and names was only beginning to penetrate to this remote village; but its remote situation perhaps made the penetration slow. For the same reason, at the present day, Turkish customs have been slow in reaching the village. The people belong to one of those obscure sects which are believed to retain many pre-Mohammedan and even pre-Christian customs. They are simply pagans with a veneer of Islam on the surface, shunning all intercourse and all community of feeling with the Turks, who are a kindly, jovial, hospitable race. Many tales are told, true or false, about these sectaries, villages of whom are or were found here and there over the country; though Abd-ul-Hamid's aim and policy was to extirpate them, and to make the country uniformly Sunni. He certainly was not successful, but he did a good deal in the way of forcible conversion; but forcible conversion always leaves the character of the man or people unchanged, or even makes him more confirmed in his old ways and thoughts (hidden though they may be under tyrannical law).

The two stelae belong to the same Brotherhood, and are of exactly similar style, though one, Fig. 1, is older and rather ruder than the other. Each has a low pediment, in the centre of which stands a tall figure of Zeus of the Laodicean type, resting his left hand on a long sceptre, while on his outstretched right hand sits an eagle. At the left side of each pediment is a four-horse car, in which is the sun-god with radiated head. The wheels have four spokes, and the car is turned towards Zeus. At the right hand of the pediment is a cart drawn by two oxen, also turned towards the centre. The figures in the two cars are much defaced, as is the eagle, which Zeus holds forth in his right hand. Hermes, with caduceus and purse, stands between the ox-cart and Zeus. On the other side of Zeus stands the figure of Good Fortune of the usual Roman type holding the rudder and the cornucopiae.

It is beyond doubt that the Brotherhood which is pictured on these two stelae through two generations was an agricultural association. The ox-cart is a farm vehicle, and the four-horse car carrying the sun-god is starting on his course through heaven. The day is beginning : it is a day of joyous rustic gaiety. The Brotherhood is intended rather to cultivate vegetables than to grow wheat. In such a situation the villagers could not have wheat-fields ; and the chief Brother in Fig. 2, the head of the Phratra, has the surname "melon-grower," Kolokynthianos.[1]

The Brotherhood belongs to the village Thiounta, and this volcanic stone, of which the two stelae are made, was used at Hierapolis to construct some at least of the large graves which stand on the roads leading out of the city : inscriptions name the stone as Thiountene,[2] though Boeckh has altered this in the

[1] This is, as I think, the true meaning.

[2] I do not understand why in one the stone is called white Thiountene (see Humann, Judeich, etc., *Hierapolis*, No. 113, p. 108). I suspect the reading. The Turks would call it Kara-tash, black stone.

Corpus Inscrip. Graec. vol. ii. No. 3915, to Dokimene.[1] He had not been there, and did not therefore know that the stone is not of Dokimene marble, carried 200 miles over mountain and glen, but of Thiountene volcanic stone, brought down the Maeander gorge by a rough road, but always downhill.

The names of the Brotherhood are printed over their portraits, which are all of exactly the same type, except that some are bearded, and some are youths. The drawing is inaccurate in this respect; but time failed us to indicate the distinction. There are two chiefs or headmen in each case, and the number of the Brotherhood was limited to twenty-four, who are arranged in two rows.

Zeus was evidently the god in whose worship the Brethren assembled. On one side he is the sun-god, on the other he is perhaps Gordius, the driver of the first cart: in the centre he is Graeco-Roman. Beside him are the deities that represent, one the selling of merchandise, and the other, good luck. The Brotherhood prospered. There are signs of greater wealth in the second than in the first list.[2] The Brotherhood stands between heaven and earth (see Chapter XV.).

The scene on earth in the lowest zone is very charming. In the middle of it stands a woman weaving at a loom supported on a basis. Circe, on a vase, uses much the same kind of loom. The drawing does not represent well the shuttle which she holds for her work: she is evidently beginning her work at dawn, and her shuttle looks like a ball of wool. In Fig. 1 she looks to the right, and this gives the appearance that she holds the shuttle in her left hand. This awkwardness (like some others) is avoided in Fig. 2, where she looks to the left. Behind her is a man in a long robe playing the double flute, and in front of her are two herds of seven cows, in each case moving away from her: she represents the household, and the hour is early morning, when the cows are going out to pasture. In Fig. 2 they are represented with humps on the neck (zebu).

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[1] There is no justification for this conjecture: the letters are certain, and given in his epigraphic text.

[2] There is a pannychis in Fig. 2, as well as the distribution of oil for eight days. Oil was most necessary in the days when soap was unknown.

In Hesychius it is stated that "kerku" means the double flute, and one of the Brotherhood is surnamed Kerkus. Many of the Brothers bear a double name, and one of the names is very often Anatolian.

It would be easy to draw up a series of genealogies, one probably extending over three generations. The Brotherhood evidently had not wholly lost the family character, and the chieftainship is certainly hereditary. The genealogies are indicated in my *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, Part I. p. 144; but might be much increased in number.[1]

On the steep descent where Kodja-Geuzlar is situated, there is no opportunity for wheat-growing, nor even for the use of ox-wagons, nor for the pasturing of herds; but there is good level ground at the foot of the descent on both banks of the Maeander, and here oxen and ox-carts would be used, and herds of cattle could be pastured, and perhaps even a little wheat could be cultivated. There is no reason to think that Thiounta occupied exactly the site of the wretched poor modern village, which is so placed as to avoid the notice of the hostile outer world, both Christian under the Byzantine and Moslem under the Turkish rule. Thiounta was situated in a better position, and was evidently a highly prosperous village.

Perhaps the strongest proof of relationship and blood in the two lists is the pair Apollonis,[2] son of Mikketas in Fig. 1 (Mikka often as Anatolian female name) and Zeuxios, son of Apollonios, grandson of Mikketas, in Fig. 2. Euxenion, son of Zôsimos, in Fig. 2 was probably father of Menander in the same list: Auxiniôn in Fig. 1 is a different name, probably Anatolian or selected as of good omen. Athenagoras, son of Diodoros Gorgion in Fig. 2, is son of Diodoros Gorgion[1] in Fig. 1. The chiefs in Fig. 2 are father and son.

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[1] Σαβυς is perhaps connected with Sabazios. In *loc. cit.* read in 30, l. 2, Κυρ̣ων, Ἀπολλωνις Μικκητου, perhaps Ζευξις [δις Ἀ]πη[νιων].

[2] Apollonis for Apollonios, a common vulgarism, avoided in the later list.

The presence of both father and son in the same list several times not merely proves what a strong family tie existed in the Brotherhood, but also exhibits the reason why some figures are bearded, others are youthful (a detail which is not indicated in the drawings, as explained already).

Only one artisan is mentioned in the lists, Menander, son of Apheianos, a maker of *lepta* (perhaps delicate pottery, or more probably fine thin garments).[2] There is a general predominance of names either (1) derived from the gods of the Brotherhood, Diogenianus, Diodoros, Diogenes, Theodoros, Theophilos, Dionysis, Dionysios, for the jolly tone of the scenes implies that Dionysos was recognised as a god of the Brotherhood, Apollonios from the sun-god as Apollo, and Hikesios a title of Apollo as the god of purification, viz. the sun-god, who keeps that country still clean and healthy: Hikesios is represented on coins of Ephesus; (2) names of good omen, Eutyches, Krusion (for Chrysion), Auxinion, Euxenion, Justus, Didymos, Glykon, Zosimos, Kyron; (3) names connected with husbandry, as Zeuxis and Zeuxios (driver of a pair of oxen), Kolokynthianos, Apenion (?), Korydon,[3] Pityras (who superintends the husks on the threshing-floor); (4) names connected with history and poetry, Athenagoras, Alexander, Menander, Theocritus, Hellênios (?), Kyrôn (?); (5) names found in Greek mythology, or connected with mythological personages,

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[1] The δ in Fig. 1 shows that Diodoros Gorgion was son, grandson, and great-grandson of Diodoros, and took the surname Gorgion for distinction.

[2] The lady in Figs. 1 and 2 evidently wore fine garments: the term is λεπτοπυοῦ. The Brotherhood was wealthy enough to have delicate garments.

[3] I assume that *korud* is connected with *skorod*, garlic, not with *korud*, the lark (see my article "Specimens of Anatolian Words," in the second number of *Oriens*).

Iollas, Gorgion, Kasmos (from Kadmos),[1] Aigeon (for Aigaion, perhaps ultimately connected with the rules of goat-culture, prescribed as religious ritual).

One official occurs in Fig. 2, Kasmos paraphylax ; this office was as old as the Pergamenian kingdom and was kept up by the Romans ; the paraphylax was a sort of chief constable.

The Gorgon and Gorgon's village (Gorgorôme equivalent to Gorgorûme: see Chapter VIII.) are indubitably of Anatolian origin: the head with open mouth and protruding tongue is the author of prophecy in the Hittite inscriptions, according to Forrer and Sayce: *i.e.* Gorgo is the Earth-mother as the teacher of her children. The prophecies are often given in full in the inscriptions, but are always expressed in that undeciphered language, which is called by Forrer proto-Hittite. Names that need further careful study are Kyrtos (unless it is the Homeric adjective), Euaros, Lapisas, Lechitas, Psapharos, Kennêniôn, Masôn, Mongos. These seem to be Anatolian names. Euaros is probably a half-grecised Anatolian name: compare Zeus Eurudamenos and Ourudamenos on the Tekmoreian imperial estates and at Apollonia.

Perhaps the most extraordinary feature in the lists is that Hermes or a derivative is never used as a personal name, although the conjunction of Zeus and Hermes is so striking a feature in both pediments and in Fig. 4. Probably he was known at Thiounta under a native name, and they did not use the Greek name ; and he is to be sought for among the unexplained names, or possibly he was identified with Dionysos, both gods being in mythology represented as sons of the supreme god Zeus.

The goddess of Good Fortune is evidently referred to in several personal names, *e.g.* Auxiniôn.[2]

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[1] It may be assumed that Kasmos is equivalent to Kadmos (as Pape-Benseler, *Lexicon der Eigennamen*, say, and every one assumes). So also Kasmilos, Kasmillos, Latin Camillus, otherwise Kadmilos, subordinate priest, Kadmêlos (*i.e.* Hermes).

[2] The predilection for names ending in -iôn is a marked feature, and many of them are unknown in Hellenic personal nomenclature.

In Fig. 1, Zeuxis, son of Diodoros, has the title priest (appas):[1] "appas" was used in Anatolia as a priestly title. The title "appas of Dionysos," occurring in the union of mystae at Magnesia, seems almost conclusive. The personal name Hiereus (not used as a title) is found often in the lists of cultivators on the Killanian imperial estates. Now "appas" became a personal name in Anatolia, and probably Hiereus is a translation of the Asian word, just as Longus and Dolichos, Justus, Macer, etc., are translations of Anatolian names in the languages used later. The only objection that could be made to this use of "appas" here is that there is no "appas" in Fig. 2, but this is not a very strong objection. Zeuxis, therefore, in Fig. 1 was the priest of the Brotherhood. He is the only person on this occasion who contributes money, and it is merely the price of a place for the stele, which could not have been much in this situation. Chairylos in Fig. 2 is a better spelling than Cherylos in Fig. 1.

Note.—The strange name Lechitas may perhaps explain the even stranger name Amphilochos, one of the two prophets of Claros, who guided the Old-Ionian emigration along the south coast. Amphilochos is grecised, but is not a real Greek name. His oracle at his tomb in Cilicia was consulted. Mopsos and Amphilochos, the two dogs of Clarian Apollo, had Anatolian names.

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[1] Ziebarth, *Vereinswesen*, p. 153, followed by Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, p. 130 f., first pointed this out; and their opinion seems to me right, but not quite conclusive, as shown below in this paragraph.

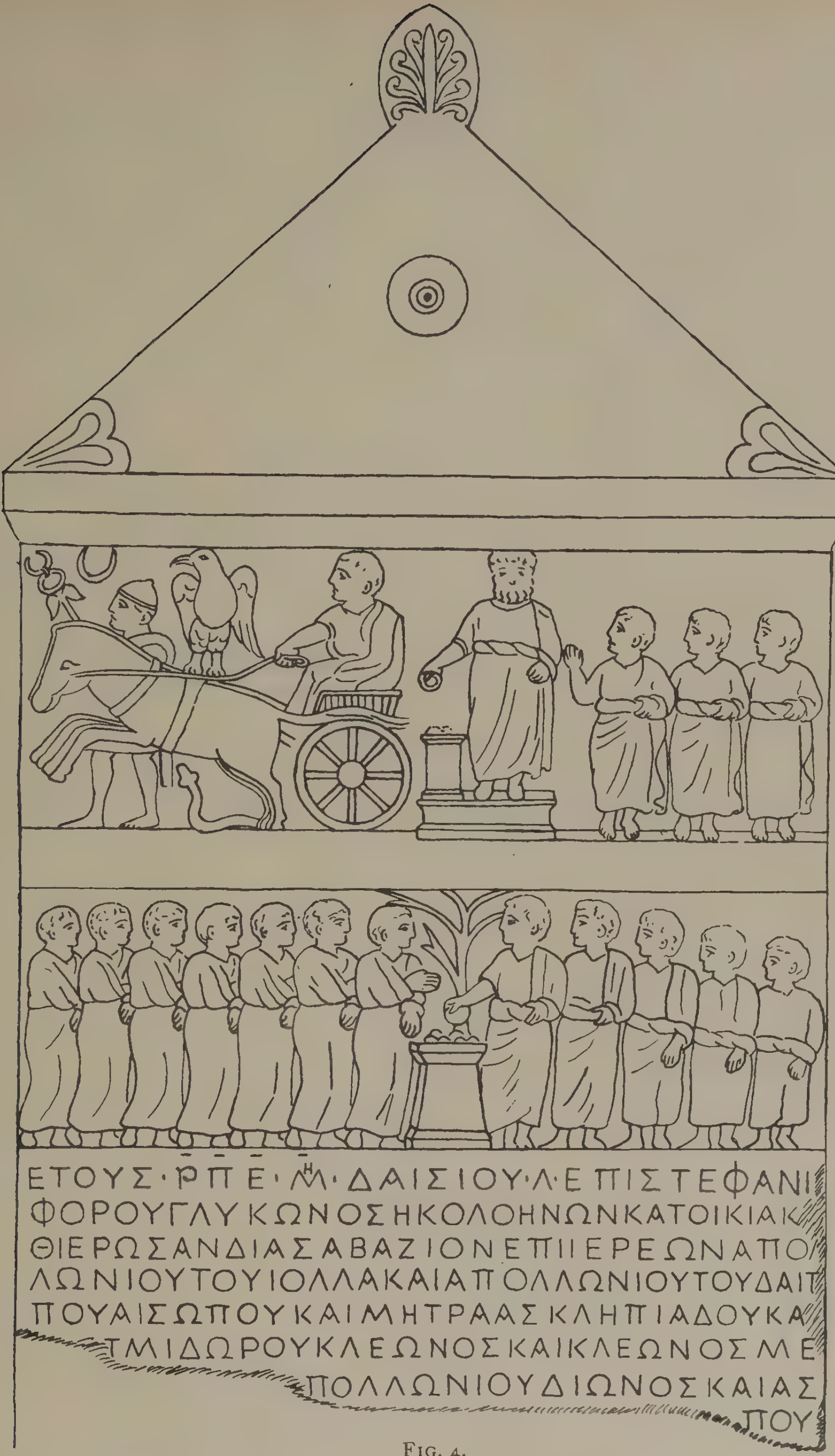
CHAPTER XV

HEAVEN AND EARTH

On p. 56 a well-known passage from Plato's *Republic*, end of Book ix., has been quoted, expressing in philosophic form that the ideal city-state exists in heaven, that the city-state on earth is an inferior and inadequate copy of it, and that the true philosopher and wise man will do only what is characteristic of the former, *i.e.* the ideal city. This is a thoroughly oriental idea, and came to Plato through Anatolia by the land journey, not by ships across the sea from Syria.

In another way, and in rude rustic fashion, the idea is expressed on monuments found in Anatolia; that the world of heaven forms the model and ensample for the world of earth, that the god above, simultaneously with the right performance of the ordained and revealed ritual by his worshipper on earth, is doing the same act in heaven as a ratification of the act on earth; and the monuments express the idea most clearly, where the European Greek fashion of degenerating Hellenism had not penetrated too deeply into the Anatolian heart.

The best example is a monument found at the modern town or Koula in the Maeonian country, but brought possibly from Sandal or Geulde, two villages which have taken the place of the ancient sacred kome Satala in the Katakekaumene (called Lydian, but really belonging to the Maeonian period, pre-Lydian and Old-Anatolian). There are many proofs in both these villages of a



ΕΤΟΥΣ·Ρ̄Π̄Ε̄·$\overset{Η}{\text{Μ}}$·ΔΑΙΣΙΟΥ·Λ·ΕΠΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΙ
ΦΟΡΟΥΓΛΥΚΩΝΟΣΗΚΟΛΟΗΝΩΝΚΑΤΟΙΚΙΑΚ
ΘΙΕΡΩΣΑΝΔΙΑΣΑΒΑΖΙΟΝΕΠΙΙΕΡΕΩΝΑΠΟ
ΛΩΝΙΟΥΤΟΥΙΟΛΛΑΚΑΙΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥΤΟΥΔΑΙΤ
ΠΟΥΑΙΣΩΠΟΥΚΑΙΜΗΤΡΑΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΟΥΚΑ
ΤΜΙΔΩΡΟΥΚΛΕΩΝΟΣΚΑΙΚΛΕΩΝΟΣΜΕ
ΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥΔΙΩΝΟΣΚΑΙΑΣ
ΠΟΥ

Fig. 4.

local shrine. As often is the case elsewhere, the site of Satala was occupied by a Turkish village Geulde and a diminishing remnant of the old Christian bishopric Satala, called in Anatolian fashion Sandal (where nasalisation transforms "t" to "d"). Yet possibly Sandal may be a true ancient form (cp. Hesychius, *sandalia*, women's shoes) of which "satala" was the simpler form. Gradually the Christian element died out. Speculations on the cause in such cases are stated in the *Thousand and One Churches*, p. 31 f. On the co-existence of a Christian and a Moslem element at an ancient site, as at Deli-Hiderli, Hider being St. George, and Sarikli, the turban-wearers; Tefeni (*i.e.* Stephani) and Karamanli; Sivasli (ancient Sebaste), with a Turkish turn at the end, and Seljükler, see *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. 30 f., 279, 303, ii. 576.

The evident very recent volcanic action, seen in rivers of lava, hardened but black and without any soil gathered over it, were signs of the divine action and the volcanic fire, and that the divine power had its chosen abode in this Katakekaumene of Lydia.[1] Satala was a permanent centre where the god and the goddess in their life and relations manifested a divine model for human life, taught their obedient people, punished the careless and the erring, and required from the sinner public confession and atonement in one way or other for all violation of the divine law; the punishment might come quickly or slowly, but the sin was always punished sooner or later by the divine fire of fever or by other more patent form of misfortune, accidental wound or ill-luck in any of its various forms: the same thought seems to underlie the modern Italian use of *disgrazia* in the sense of misfortune.

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[1] We visited Koula, Geulde, Sandal, and the country north as far as Simav and the Rhyndakos river, and east from there to Tchavdir-Hissar (Aizani) and on to the country of the Prepeniseis in 1883 and 1884; but many important inscriptions have been published of similar type by Buckler and others, following on a collection by Steinleitner.

That there was a Katoikia called Koloe in the neighbourhood is certain from the inscription on the accompanying monument, which is in many respects the most important of all. Despite the resemblance of the ancient Koloe to the modern Koula, the late Byzantine evidence shows that Koula was understood as the Turkish, and probably old Anatolian, *kula*, *kale*, a fort or castle.

There is a distinction now made between *koula*, tower, and *kala* or *kale*, strong place, fortress. The term *koula*, *kula*, is explained by Ducange, *Notae in Alexiadem*, p. 621, as applied by the Greeks to all acropoleis. The acropolis of Antioch on the Orontes was called Koula by Anna Comnena, ii. pp. 89 f., and Kala is mentioned as a strong tower on the west side, by Scylitzes in *Niceph. Phocam*, quoted by Ducange, *loc. cit.*, which shows that the words are practically identical. In all probability the words are variants of an old Anatolian word, taken over by the Turks; but H. Kiepert in a letter to me preferred to consider them early Turkish words.[1]

The relief was brought, the owners assured us, from the district Kara-Tash, which lies at no very great distance to the north of Koula, by a Greek dealer in madder-root. We visited Kara-Tash, but discovered on this journey nothing of consequence. The Greek and Turkish people there were concerned chiefly with the cessation of the demand for madder-root, which had formerly made them wealthy; and we found it difficult to explain to their satisfaction that madder-root, which was used in making the famous turkey-red colour, had been supplanted by inferior and cheaper aniline dyes. Koula was, and probably is still, a great seat of the manufacture of Turkey carpets. The relief had been in the possession of the same family nearly thirty years before we made the drawing of it in 1884: the family was rich, and they assured me that this was the complete history of the stone from its discovery.

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[1] "Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia," in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, viii. Pt. II. § cvii.; *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, pp. 211, 432; Colonel Von Diest considers Koula to be the same name with Koloe (see p. 48 of his *Von Pergamon über den Dindymos zum Pontus*, an excellent travel narrative). I came to know him well before the war. Probably the word *kala* in Arabic is borrowed from Turkish, and ultimately perhaps originated in Anatolia.

A mountain often indicates and guards like a sign the city or village near which it is seen by a traveller; but it is in accordance with the spirit of ancient paganism that it did not rest content with the vague conception that the mountain beside the town was the home of the deity and a sign indicating its locality to travellers. It was not merely a divine thing, but divine character and personality were attributed to it. Just as the heaven above was filled with a dense crowd of living beings, the Bear, the hunter Orion, the nymph Kassiopeia, and so on, with all the signs of the Zodiac, the Ram, the Virgin, the Balance, the Twins, Aquarius, etc., so the earth was a defective and poor copy of the heavens, and the surface of Anatolia and the Aegean lands was covered with figures like Leontoskephalai, the strongest fortress in Phrygia Hyroma (Sows village), Opheoskephale (Serpent's Head, one can see from the proper point the long snake stretched out far across the Lake), Kynoskephalai, Gorgoroma (Gorgon village), the Rising Moon, and so forth. It may be taken for granted as a principle of investigation and observation (1) that far more of these existed than the very defective sources of information reveal to a casual observer: we possess so little information about the country. Miss Gertrude Bell said that every stone or hillock projecting from the desert surface had its special name to the Bedouin; (2) that every great home of divine power was indicated to men on the divine map by these signs as well as by evident proofs of the divine power, such as hot springs and medicinal or curative properties in the soil and its products; (3) that local names mirrored these divine things to men, but they are rarely preserved to us in their native Anatolian form, and when they are preserved they are not always intelligible to us, since the language is unknown. See p. 148.

Sometimes such local names are known in a Greek translation, of which examples have already (Ch. II.) been given, sometimes in modern Turkish. The Mount of God, Allah-Dagh, is not due to the imaginative interpretation of nature by the Turkish mind, for Turkish nomenclature is not of that type, nor to the Mohammedan religion, for the faith of Islam forbids the idea that any mountain could be so named. Allah does not dwell in a mountain, nor has He any local habitation except in Arabia, where certain local sacred places and things, which had too strong a hold on the Arab mind for Mohammed to disregard, were accepted and Islamised as part of the Faith. Such, *e.g.*, was the Black Stone at Mecca, to which the pilgrims go : it was a holy thing or fetish long before Mohammed taught a higher thought and it was quite inconsistent with his teaching. Yet the Kaaba had to be accepted as the centre and rallying point of the true believers in Islam.

Accordingly Allah-Dagh, a mountain of God, in Anatolia, is neither Turkish nor Mohammedan. It comes from older Anatolian thought and nomenclature, possibly direct, perhaps through a Greek intermediate rendering.

The Rising Moon, Ai-Doghmush, is conspicuous to every traveller looking from the west or north-west even at a very great distance. I have seen it, and recognised the exact position of Apameia-Kelainai even from the horse-road between Ushak and Ala-Sheher (Philadelphia). The significance of the name gradually dawned on me, as I looked at this beautiful mountain from many points on the great sea-going road down the Lycus valley. Like the full moon half risen above the horizon, Ai-Doghmush rests on the intervening hill ridge. It is only the Rising Moon, not the Setting Moon, for it can be seen only as it rises in the east or south-east, not as it sets in the west. A traveller coming from the east and looking towards this mountain from near at hand can see no such appearance there, for Ai-Doghmush is only a part of the rim of the central plateau. The appearance depends entirely on locality and direction. In the opposite view the Japanese poet

Kamo, looking from east westwards, says "how sad to see the light of the moon sinking behind the edge of the western hills: how good it would be if the light seen should remain for ever."[1] The rising moon is joyous: the setting moon is sad. The emotion in man naturally keeps in tone with the aspect of earth and heaven. It is not fanciful, but a truth seen by imaginative sympathy with ancient thought, that in the Anatolian mind the emotion harmonised with the scene. Of this a good example is found in the famous Boston relief, commonly (and probably rightly) regarded as part of the sarcophagus or monument which bore on another side the exquisite figure of Aphrodite rising from the sea. See also Chapter V.

Professor Ernest Gardner, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, rightly emphasised the "Ionian" character of the art in this exquisite work, though I could never for a moment accept his doubt as to its genuineness. It is wholly Anatolian in emotion and conception, and the execution must be attributed to an Ionian school. The divine governing power, represented as a great nude winged figure (misinterpreted generally as Eros),[2] holds forth the divine Balance, in which the god weighs alike the fate of heroes, the wares of the market, and the right times and movements of the heavenly Signs and the seasons of the year. Two goddesses sit on each side, contemplating the Justice of God in its action. They represent the sad and the joyous aspect of Nature, the Earth-goddess in her two moods and characters, of winter and summer, of death and life, of darkness and light. Professor Gardner gives in his article a good photograph of this exquisite monument of Ionian art.

The contrast of emotion, the gaiety and the melancholy of this monument, proves its genuineness and makes it a work of fine art: it is not merely the skilful workmanship, but the embodied thought, that gives it such a high place among the remains of antiquity. No modern could have re-created this ancient ether and created a world to move in that ether. The idea is ancient and Anatolian, totally different in quality from the art of European Greece; and it had never been caught and envisaged even in words by any modern writer, although some speculations had been pointing that way. It needed the discovery of the monument to crystallise in the modern mind the floating elements of the great clashing world of ideas that produced such a work.

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[1] *J.H.S.*, 1918, p. 145.

[2] It could be Eros only in a highly philosophic idea as the governing principle of the world, as in Plato.

A similar group of priests to those mentioned in the above inscription (Fig. 4) has been printed in Sterrett's *Epigraphical Journey*, 1888, p. 91, No. 59, where a certain Mênis dedicates an altar to his fellow-priests of Zeus. The whole college of priests is six in number. The cost was added, but the number of denarii is obliterated. The priests are *συνιερεῖς* of Mênis, evidently the chief-priest and head of the college. No special duties for each priest are mentioned; but priest of Hermes in one case, priest of Dionysos in another, possibly priest of Demeter and Saoazos, belonged to the college. This whole series of Killanian inscriptions[1] was probably made or arranged by priests who succeeded to a place in the college. The priesthood was probably annual, and it is easy to make a list of priests from about A.D. 199 to 260, with a few small gaps due to breaks in the stone. The estates are called Killanian, or Choria Miluadika, or Hadriana (doubtless because they were reorganised by that Emperor). There were three separate estates, farmed out to three different contractors (*μασθωταί*), and the imperial interests were managed by a procurator, always an imperial freedman, and three *actores*, slaves of the Emperors. A passage in Pliny, *Epist.* iii. 19, shows that a procurator and actores were the proper administrators of a group of estates in Italian Gaul.[1] Critoboulos, dated A.D. 207–8 in Sterrett, No. 46 (*Cities and Bish.* Pt. I. p. 281), was a freedman of the imperial owners, Annia Faustina and Tiberius Claudius (date probably A.D. 207–8); but others may have been equestrian procurators.

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[1] Sterrett's group of inscriptions Nos. 38-76 all belong to the Killanian estates of the Emperor, and were published also quite independently by A. H. Smith, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. viii. Education on these imperial estates was slow and late. More exact references are given on p. 224. Numerous similar lists and contributions have since been found.

The importance of this group of inscriptions for our purpose lies in the fact that they were imperial property, on the borders of the province Asia, and that the imperial owner was the divine lord and god manifested on earth, and his procurator represented him with supreme authority. The procurator was charged with the maintenance of public order, and had a corps of police (*παραφυλακῖται*), and frontier guardians (*ὁροφύλακες*, saltuarii). They were a sort of police force for a district or even for a city.

As we returned in 1884, after an excursion northwards and eastwards from Koula to Simav, Aizani, and Prymnessos, we took the opportunity of crossing the Kara-Tash region southwards by a different route; and in the district near the city Saittae we found the accompanying inscription, which was printed in the *Classical Review*, October 1905, p. 370.

> In the year 307 (equivalent to A.D. 219?) on the seventh day of the month Daisios, Battos, son of Rufus, citizen of Saittae, with his parents dedicated the (statue of) Asklepios together with the (statue of) Hygeia in Ariandos in the temple of Zeus Agoraios. The priest of Asklepios.[2]

In the rearranged Augustan calendar, adapted to the Julian year (solar), the names of the months were retained from the Macedonian year (which had been lunar); and Daisios was fixed 23rd April to 23rd May. That the seventh day of the Augustan month was chosen for this solemn act, has doubtless some relation to the moon; but that cannot be determined without intricate astronomical calculation. There can be no doubt that the Augustan calendar, settled for the province Asia, and doubtless for the Roman provinces generally, was used at Saïttae.

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[1] Schulten, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1898, p. 225 ff., considers that *actores* is the proper designation. On *pragmateutai*, actores, see *Arch. Epigr. Mitt. Österr.*, 1896, xix. p. 127 ff. From Mommsen in *Hermes*, xv., 1880, p. 403 f., it is natural to infer that the rents of the coloni (resident native labourers) were paid directly to the board of supervision, *i.e.* the procurator and actores. My first rendering, long ago made, of "negotiatores" instead of "actores" was approved by that great scholar, Otto Hirschfeld, in the Berlin *Sitzungsber.*, 1891, p. 874, note 122, and the question of management still remains not quite settled.

[2] A definition of Battos is appended, as pp. 178, 188 f.

The year 307 is probably (as stated above) dated from the era of the united province Asia and Phrygia (made a province under Sulla). In it were included also Lydia, Caria, the Cibyratis, Hellespontus, etc. It is, however, possible that the Kara-Tash region was included in the original province taken into the Empire in 133 B.C., according to the will[1] of the last Pergamenian king Attalus III., who left no son. There is, therefore, the possible alternative that in Arianzos (whose precise situation is not known),[2] the era of the province Asia, 133 B.C., was used, which would make the date of this incription A.D. 174.

A third possible date is according to the Seleucid era, 305–4 B.C.; and in that case the date would be 2–3 B.C. It is extremely difficult to determine what era was used in those frontier regions between Phrygia and Lydia[2] or Caria.[2] Several different eras were used actually in the same place at different times.

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[1] The existence of such a will has been ridiculed by some modern historians of Rome, but has been conclusively proved by an inscription found in the German excavations at Pergamos. The truth is that the latest kings of Pergamos from 189 B.C. onwards were merely client-kings subject to the Roman Senate, and that Rome had both the power and the legal right to interfere and to make changes as it pleased. The existence of a will was a natural consequence. Rome was free to accept the will, if it desired to do so, or to nominate another client-king if it preferred.

[2] Changes were introduced in the border of Caria (*Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, Part I. p. 37). Several different eras were used in the Cibyratic and Killanian regions, and also in the more northern region of Maeonia.

In the present instance there is no criterion, except that there is no allusion to any Roman imperial name, which favours an early date.

The identity of Cappadocian Arianzos and the Maeonian name is noteworthy. Ariandos was evidently an ancient Anatolian name, identical with Arianzos, family estate of Gregory Nazianzen near the village Karbala or Kaprala (modern Gelvere)[1] in the territory of Diocaesarea-Nazianzos. When we were at Gelvere in 1882, the inhabitants talked freely of Nazianzos, now called Nenizi, as the city of their saint. These facts imply that Arianzos was an estate of a land-owning family, under the kôme Karbala, which was comprised in the territory of the city-state Diocaesarea. It is clearly stated in two passages (Mansi, *Act. Concil.* ix. pp. 256, 258) that Arianzos was a farm (*praedium*), belonging to Gregory Nazianzen, where he was born. The phrase "an estate in Arianzos" occurs; Gregory mentions in his Epist. 25 a festival of the holy martyrs on the twenty-second day of the month Dathousa (a Cappadocian month); Gregory, writing to the governor of Cappadocia Secunda says that when the latter happened to be present at Nazianzos, he had had the opportunity of conversing with him: obviously Gregory had been at that time resident on his family estate at Arianzos of Karbala or Kaprala. About A.D. 376–380, Diocaesarea-Nazianzos was threatened by the governor with degradation from the rank of a city-state. Gregory interceded successfully on its behalf with Olympius the governor. Gregory rarely travelled far from his own home, and felt deeply hurt when Basil made him a bishop, and Podandos a bishopric, and required him to reside there in that deep pit among the mountains of Taurus.

With the identity of Ariandos in Lydia, and Arianzos in western

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[1] Called by the Greek residents Καλβαρή in 1882. It was partly Turkish, partly Greek at that time. Nenizi in the open plain was Turkish. Gelvere is a refuge close to the skirts of Hassan-Daph (Little Argaios).

Cappadocia, compare the statement that Nadiandos was the same as Nazianzos (on which see Philostorgius, *Hist. Eccles.* viii. 11).

Turkish names were in late Byzantine times used for the old name. Cinnamus has Ἄκσιαρη (Ak-Sheher) and Πέγσιαρη (Bey-Sheher, older Beg-Sheher). Archelais Colonia is often mentioned by the Byzantine writers under the latter name, but Nicetas Choniates says that it was called by the Turks in the twelfth century Taksara (obviously Ak-Serai), whereas Acropolita, p. 146, mentions it as Aksara. Chalcocondylas, p. 243, still later, speaks of Konia as Tokoneion.[1]

The name Diocaesarea, which is found in Ptolemy, dates probably from the time of Domitian. Olba bears the name Diocaesarea on a coin of Trajan, but not on the older coins. Nazianzos is called Anathiango in the *Jerusalem Itinerary*, and Nantianulus in the *Antonine Itinerary*: these names attest the difficulty of getting a correct recognised spelling for this Cappadocian settlement. Anathiango (ablative with "ab" understood or lost) has prothetic "a" and "th" for the ordinary "z," and the Anatolian ending "ang" with nasalisation as in lynx (lyk-os), pharyng, laryng-, and the magic bird on the wheel, iung, and many others. Nantianulus has nasalisation in a different place, "nt" for "zi"; the termination is given up in despair, and the Cappadocian "nz" or "nd" becomes "nl" with interposed vowel.

In this inscription of Kara-Tash in Maeonia, the note at the end was apparently intended to explain who Battos was. He was evidently one of a group of priests, each doubtless with his special duties.[2] A similar group of priests, comprising at least seven, is enumerated in Fig. 4. A similar group may be found in Sterrett, *Epigraphical Journey*, p. 91, No. 59, where a certain Menis places "the altar" to his fellow-priests of Zeus: the whole college appears to be six in number. The cost was stated, but the number is obliterated. They were published for the most part by A. H. Smith in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1887, p. 216 ff., and by Sterrett in his *Epigraphical Journey*, pp. 38 ff.; and explanations with chronology were added by me in the *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, Pt. I. pp. 278-294 and 304-316.

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[1] The *το* or *τ* is intended apparently to give a Greek look, and is the Greek definite article. Perhaps the modern Tapae for the old Lydian town Hypaipa is a similar case, or possibly it is a case of dissimulation for Papae.

[2] No special duties are enumerated. The six were fellow-priests (συνιερεῖς). The whole group of inscriptions in Sterrett's group, No. 38 to 76, probably were made by priests: in several cases the makers are said to be priests, but priests only for a limited period, probably in general one year. I copied them all, usually in

In the Kara-Tash inscription, the name Rouphos (Rufus) is probably a translation of an Anatolian word used as a personal name: cp. Longus, Dolichos, Macer or Makros, etc.

Battos and its derivative Battakês were names usual among the priests of Cybele at Pessinus. Battos was also a common name among the kings of Cyrene, and the founder of the colony somewhere about 630 B.C. (on very uncertain evidence, Meyer, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, ii. 301): the Greeks made Battos into a Libyan name, and invented Greek names for the founder; but it is really a pre-Hellenic and Anatolian name. Battea was a village or homestead in the Tekmoreian district.[1] Battos was a mythological herdsman, who observed Hermes driving away the stolen herds of Apollo; and he was changed into a rock. Battos was also a ruler of Melite, who received hospitably Anna, sister of Dido.

The evidence points to Battos and Battakes as being pre-Hittite Anatolian names. Much of Greek mythological nomenclature has the same origin, though the actual tales are commonly transformed by Greek fancy.

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conjunction with A. H. Smith and J. R. S. Sterrett. These three Killanian estates were imperial, and the people were not highly developed in civilisation. On the dates and names that can be elicited from them of the imperial family, see *Prosopogr. Imp. Rom.* iii. p. 470. They were reorganised by Hadrian, and sometimes called Hadriana.

[1] Sterrett, *Epigraphical Journey*, p. 338 f. I at first tried to make it *β' Ἀττεανός*; but repented of this error, as mentioned above in the present volume.

The name Batieia in the speech of men, called also the "sign of dancing Myrina" in the language of the gods, designated a little hillock near the Scaean gate of Troy, between the Scamander and the Simoeis. See p. 299.

Bateia,[1] again, was the daughter of Teucer, wife of Dardanos, mother of Ilus, Erichthonios and Zakynthos (Dionysius Halic. *Antiq. Rom.* i. 50). Here perhaps we find ourselves amid Hittite surroundings, for Teukros was the god Tarku.

It is important to study the constitution of the imperial estates, for these estates preserve the old Asian system of a god ruling his people. The labourers (*coloni*) on those estates occupied almost the position of serfs. They were not at first actually bound to live on and cultivate the soil; but the natural reluctance of Asiatics to move from their hereditary place affected more and more the coloni on imperial estates in Europe (which were fewer in number and not so large in extent). The imperial power, however, gradually encroached on the rights of these free-born labourers. More and more the imperial lord claimed the right to their labour; and they were powerless to resist. The land passed into the possession of the imperial lord, who was not only master and owner, but also the image of god. He is in the Revelation called the Beast. His image, Eikôn, was a holy thing, and his worship was obligatory on all. Private estates passed into the possession of the Emperor. Often in the first century A.D., the Emperor gave landed estates to his favourites; but gradually these were brought back under his power. Confiscation of the property of unpopular persons, stigmatised as enemies of the state and hostile to the safety of the realm, implied that all the land which they had possessed was transferred to the ownership of the Emperor. Most part of Cappadocia was imperial property. The cities, which had, under the early empire, owned considerable lands, gradually lost it, and the Emperors gained it all, as the city-system decayed.

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[1] The connexion of Bateia, Batieia, with the old Anatolian Battos, is doubtful.

Thus the population came to consist of the lord Emperor and peasant coloni and soldiers. Gradually that system became the law of the empire. Finally in 415 the coloni on estates were made practically serfs, when the right of the owner to the labour of his coloni was recognised by law.

The long Arab wars for three centuries after 660, re-invigorated the peasants. It was the peasants who drove back the Arabs, as they gradually learned to defend themselves against the external enemy. Peace, even the peace of heaven, was not so good for the peasantry as war proved to be. When we speak of the distinction of earth and heaven in Anatolia and the empire generally, the meaning depends on the period. Great estates continued to exist in Asia Minor, and are important in the ninth century and later: the owners were not the masters but the friendly leaders of a good peasantry; owner and peasant were necessary to each other, and each felt that this was the case.

The state of the earlier Empire was hated and resisted by the Christians. They were a reform party in the political world, and were more strenuously discouraged and persecuted by the best emperors than by the worst. Trajan fully recognised this inevitable opposition. He did not like it, but he could not prevent it; and he tried to alleviate it.

Heaven to the non-Christian peasantry was based on earth. It was beyond and outside of and utterly separate from earth to the Christians.

CHAPTER XVI

BETROTHAL AND MARRIAGE

Only one certain example of the ceremony of betrothal is known: it is in a tale recorded obviously on good authority by Plutarch.[1]

Kamma, wife of Sinatos, one of the most influential of the tetrarchs who ruled the three Gaulish tribes that had settled in Asia Minor and made their home in Galatia, was a beautiful lady of kindly and excellent character; and she was much beloved by the subject peoples, *i.e.* the conquered Phrygians, who formed the bulk of the population of the tribal Galatia, for the Gauls were a conquering tribe, few of whom can have lived through the long journey and the constant wars, with victories and defeats alternating from Gaul to Galatia. They were defeated in an attack on the high peak of Delphi, when they attempted to establish themselves in Greece. They crossed into Asia, fighting their way. They were defeated in several battles by the Pergamenian kings in the west of Asia Minor, and were forced to concentrate in the north-eastern part of Phrygia, and the north-west of Cappadocia. Their three tribes remained separate, but closely allied; only a remnant, however, of a great host survived to occupy their new country, as disease, and defeat, and victory had all taken heavy toll. The Pergamenian kings forced them away from Pergamenian territory; and celebrated their victory in a great altar at Pergamos, dedicated to Zeus, richly adorned with sculpture, which was excavated by the Germans, and is now to be seen in a special museum at Berlin.

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[1] *De mulierum virtut.* 20, *Amat.* 22; see also Polyaenus viii. 39: quoted in my *Historical Commentary on Galatians*, p. 87 f.

The Gauls gradually merged in the general population of the country, and speedily adopted the native religion, alongside of their own Gaulish deities, whom they brought with them. An example of a purely Gaulish deity was found by J. G. C. Anderson.[1]

The Gauls had brought their own wives with them in their migration, and both their march and their battles were encumbered by their families: women, and especially children, would suffer terribly in that long march, and those battles and defeats. They constituted a weak point which had always to be defended, and battles must have been waged round or in front of them.

The victors melted into the native population of Phrygia. They were swallowed up in Asia, but as late as the fourth century A.D., Jerome mentions that they kept their language, and that it resembled that of the Treviri in eastern Gaul. This fact proved that there was only a slow amalgamation of the Gauls and the natives. Doubtless they lived in separate villages, and did not mix much. Their native names remained in use for centuries, and spread beyond the actual bounds of the tribes. They are inscribed on the temple of Augustus, at Ancyra, in the first century A.D., and are recorded much later.

Even after the Gauls were settled in Galatia, they renewed the war against Pergamos in 167 B.C., under a chief named Advertas, and nearly succeeded in destroying the power of Eumenes, allying themselves with Bithynia, and even secretly supported by Rome; for the Romans did not desire to have too powerful a king in Asia Minor. The Romans had broken the might of the semi-Greek Seleucid kings of western Asia, at Magnesia, in 191 B.C.; and did not wish to have in their stead another powerful semi-Greek state in Asia Minor, the Pergamenian, against which a new war might call for Roman intervention and a Roman army in Asia.

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[1] Boussurigios, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xviii. 163.

Eumenes, however, triumphed over this coalition, and a peace was concluded in 165, guaranteeing the freedom of Galatia, which had been hard pressed, and perhaps even conquered or held at least as a compulsory ally by Pharnaces, king of Cappadocia from about 185 B.C. to 169 B.C.[1]

Sinorix or Synorix, whose name, ending with the frequent Gaulish element, "rix," Latin "rex" (as in Gaisato-rix, Dumnorix, Bituriges, etc.), marks him as a Gaul by race, was one of the twelve tetrarchs or chiefs of the three Gaulish tribes. He fell in love with Kamma, and treacherously murdered Sinatus, and in wooing the widowed Kamma, made a merit of having killed her former husband from love of her, and not from ill-will against Sinatus. Sinorix was a man of great influence, and her family urged her strongly to accept this great marriage. She pretended to comply with the wishes of her friends, accepted Sinorix, and invited him to complete the betrothal in presence of the goddess, *i.e.* in the temple and before the image. There, as priestess, she took a cup, poured a libation before the altar, drank of the cup, and handed it to Sinorix to drink. When he had done so, she called the goddess Artemis to witness that it was for this purpose alone that she had survived her husband, and now having avenged his death she was going to join him. She then addressed Sinorix: "For you, let your folk prepare for you a tomb instead of a marriage." The Gaul, feeling the poison begin to work, leaped on his car, hoping that the exertion of driving the car and the rapid motion would work off the effect of the poison. There were no good roads in Galatia, and it needed skill and care to maintain one's stand in the tossing course; but he soon changed from the chariot to a litter and died the same evening. Kamma heard of his death and died happy.

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[1] See Van Gelder, *Galatarum res in Graecia et Asia*, p. 257 f., and an article by the writer on "The Galatia of St. Paul and the Galatic Territory of Acts," in vol. iv. of Sanday's *Biblical Studies*.

In this story, which Plutarch had derived certainly from a good source, there is a marked contrast between the Gaulish nobility and the subject race of Phrygians. Kamma was kind to the people, whose priestess she was. Sinorix was a pure Gaul in his fiery life and passionate action, and Kamma too had the heart and soul of the same stock. She would not survive her husband, but she would first avenge him.

There is evident in the tale a difference between betrothal and marriage. Both are solemn ceremonies which take place in the presence of the goddess of the land: they are therefore part of the pre-Gaulish native Anatolian ritual. Van Gelder[1] holds that the pre-marriage ceremonial—formal betrothal, the great crowd accompanying the pair, the offering of vows to the goddess, the drinking from a common cup—must be Gaulish, not Oriental; but why in that case should they go to the Anatolian goddess and her temple? Why offer vows before Artemis instead of one of their own native gods, whom they retained? I consulted Professor Rhys in Oxford on this point, that high authority on old Celtic manners in his time. He replied that he knew of no custom among the Celts for a betrothed pair to drink of the same cup as a rite in the ceremony, but that the expression may possibly, though not necessarily, indicate that at marriage they ate of the same dish, a rite like *confarreatio* in the old Roman religious marriage. Rhys mentioned that, at the beginning of the tale of Kulhwah and Olwen, a prince desires a wife *of the same food* with himself. That expression may, perhaps, refer to a marriage ceremony of eating together, but more probably implies a wife of the same race and rank, qualified to sit along with him at table as an equal. Even more probably, as I venture to think, it might refer to a difference of custom and kind of food which had come down from the Roman time in Britain, and distinguished the free Celtic Welsh from the Romanised Britons of the conquered English land. It can have no place in Galatia.

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[1] See his page 199, *op. cit.*

To this day drinking of the same cup is part of the modern Greek marriage ceremony: we may regard it as Anatolian in origin. Kamma was hereditary priestess of the goddess, and the narrative in Plutarch conveys the impression that she carried out this ceremony as part of the ritual of her goddess, and that it was novel to Sinorix.[1]

Kamma, as the chief priestess of Artemis, would wear the gorgeous robes of her goddess, and would be a conspicuous figure (like the priest at Ibriz, adoring the peasant god). In the annual procession, the exodus of the goddess to survey and sanctify and mark her ownership of her territory, she would play the leading part which Plutarch describes, and would attract the eyes and kindle the passion of Sinorix.

There is no difficulty in understanding that a Gaulish lady was chief priestess of Artemis, the native deity. The conquerors must conform to the religion and reverence the power of the deity that owned the country, and could exact reverence from the new lords. At Pessinus the priestly college consisted of ten priests, five Gauls and five natives, the Gauls being first, third, fifth, seventh, and ninth. Similar, but probably not identical customs, prevailed through Galatia. Such division of land, property, and even authority between conquerors and conquered was usual in Asia Minor.[2] Both nations lived side by side.

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[1] The kubarra, or assistant in the modern marriage, groom's man or bridal maiden, drinks of the same cup, and is regarded as a close relation : the groom's man is not permitted to marry the bride, if she becomes a widow : so with a bride's maid and the widower. Such was the rule fifty years ago, but whether there may have been a relaxation subsequently, I know not. It was told us as a strict custom forty years since.

[2] I may refer to "Phrygians" in Hastings' *Dict. of Religion and Ethics*, vol. ix., also his *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. ii. 83 f., v. 129.

The Gauls were slower in adopting Greek than Latin, for the latter language seems to have been more congenial to them, along with the character and customs associated with it. Even in the fourth century after Christ we hear that they were making advances in Greek. In the time of Augustus the inscriptions on the temple of Rome and Augustus show a Roman tendency, not a Greek.

The actual ceremonial of marriage in the old Anatolian ritual is unknown. Layard says that the Yezidis (a scanty remnant of old pagans) have no marriage ceremonies and practise polygamy. Still the relation entered into between man and woman was closely associated with the temple service and was considered an important religious fact. It is probable, though not as yet proved, that some common ritual was performed in the temple and before the altar of the local deity, specially the Mother-goddess.

It is practically certain that a mixed cup was a feature in the Phrygian Mysteries, and that the celebrants partook of this cup. "I have drunk from the kymbalon" was a mystic formula pronounced in the Mysteries by each person that was initiated, as is mentioned by Clement of Alexandria (*Protrept.* 2), and by Julius Firmicus. A formula used by those who were initiated in those Mysteries was "I have escaped evil: I have found a better,"[1] and this same formula was pronounced as part of the Athenian marriage ceremony.

Marriage in Anatolia was certainly a religious ceremony, and was in large part if not entirely a pact of the Mysteries. It was a re-enactment of the "Holy Marriage." According to an old authority on the Holy Marriage, those who are being married celebrated to Zeus and Hera the holy rites of the marriage.[2]

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[1] ἔφυγον κακόν· εὗρον ἄμεινον.

[2] *Lex Rhetor.* p. 670 (Pors.), p. 345 Nauck. Compare Usener on "Ital. Mythen" in *Rhein. Mus.* xxx. p. 227. I have tried, quite independently of these authorities, to show the place occupied by the Holy Marriage in the Hall of the Mysteries over Pisidian Antioch in *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 1911–12, p. 37 ff.

This evidently applies to Attica, where Old-Ionian and Anatolian custom was strong. Probably the marriage of Mars and Nerio had the same meaning. Mars, born on 1st March, grew rapidly according to the Sacred Myth (at this point the detail that he killed his father should perhaps be restored); he sought in vain to marry Minerva on 15th March, and his defeat by the stratagem of Anna Perenna (who impersonated Minerva, and deceived Mars) was annually celebrated with obscene songs and jests by the maidens of Rome. On 23rd March Mars and Nerio worshipped both together, obviously as married. The Quinquatrus (fifth day after the Ides) on 19th was transferred to Minerva: the old meaning was forgotten and the feast was prolonged for five days to 23rd March when the tubilustrium, a feast of Mars (according to Verrius Flaccus in the Praenestine calendar), was held.[1]

The tradition of the Holy Marriage, compared with the tales about the action of the priestess of Demeter and of Alliena at marriages in Athens, is important. Usener attributes to Athenian ritual the above quotation from the *Lexicon Rhetoricum.* Our knowledge of old Italian religion is very defective, as much of the ceremonial was swept away by the conquest of Roman by Greek custom: *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes intulit agresti Latio*, as Horace says. It became fashionable to prefer Greek to Latin in Roman society. Italian things were considered vulgar.

Mars, Marmor, Mamers was an old Italian god in Italy, not simply god of war, but of agriculture and life generally. He is mentioned in the hymn of the Arval Brothers, which is now hardly intelligible. His wife, Nerio, Neriênis, or Neriene, bears a name akin to the Greek *ἠνορέη*, manly beauty: and the name Nero is the Umbrian "ner," *i.e.* vir. The same stem appears in Oscan, but disappeared almost entirely from Latin. Mârcus, the Roman praenomen, is equivalent to Mamercus, a reduplication of Mar; Mamercus was used as a praenomen in only one Roman gens, the Aemilian. Mavors for Mamers, with change from "m" to "v," is also an Anatolian linguistic phenomenon. The name Marbollas, "the counsel of Mar," may be an Anatolian relative of Mar; reduplication, as in Marmor, is a characteristic Anatolian feature. The further back we can penetrate into the almost lost early Latin and Roman and Etruscan, the nearer we come to the old Anatolian.

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[1] Mommsen in *C.I.L.* i. p. 388 f.

The person who undergoes initiation moves on to the perfect scene of human life, the basis on which society rests. This was the mystic marriage of the god and goddess, as symbolical of earth's marriage. The divine life is the model of human life. What is done rightly on earth is done simultaneously in the abode of the god (Chapter XIII.). That is the teaching of the gods to mankind. The common drinking from the kymbalon, as in the formula quoted above, was followed by the words "I have become a mystes of Attis."

There can be no doubt that the mystic phrase used in the Attic marriage ceremony, "I have fled from evil: I have found a better," refers to the substitution of religion and marriage for the supposed older state of violence and fraud. There was no longer marriage by capture, but a mystic ceremony of marriage; and in Athens the priestess of Demeter gave instructions to the newly wedded pair.

The Mysteries at Claros, and doubtless at Ephesus, etc., were not, like those in Attica, celebrated as an annual or biennial custom. They were celebrated whenever any deputation, or individual, was ready to incur the expense. There was a chorus of singers, youths and maidens. Foreign deputations brought such a chorus, *hymnodoi*, with them; in one case it is stated that the chorus came in accordance with an oracle. Laodicea on the Lycus sent more than one such delegation to Claros. In North Phrygia on the imperial estates in the Prepenissian land, an altar was erected to the Clarian Apollo, and the oracle which he had given was engraved on it.[1] In Lydia at Troketta (the village of Troko or Tarku), west of Sardis,[2] a dedication was made to Apollo the Saviour in accordance with a Clarian oracle, which is engraved on the basis.

Such altars represent the work of delegations to the oracle at Claros. The delegations were Theopropoi, "inquirers," and came to get oracular advice. The Clarian inscriptions, as yet known, never give the response, but mention only the names of the delegates and the chorus.

Some of the delegations to Claros took the expense of initiation, *i.e.* of a special celebration of the Mysteries. The words that record this rite vary. In one case the inquirer "performed also the mystic ritual" (besides consulting the oracle). This is a very general and uninstructive record. In two other cases the inquirers performed after initiation an act called "entrance on a new life," *i.e.* the divinely taught life: they had learned, they made the step into the better life.

This act was the climax of the initiation: the initiated had stepped into the presence of the god. In the other case they received the sacred mystic objects and then made the entrance on the divine life.[3]

The ceremonial of the initiation symbolised the approach of man to god, and the identification of man with the god. The promise was given to the purified and initiated, "Happy and blessed, thou shalt be god instead of mortal." The priest and priestess played the part of the god and goddess in the mystic scenes. The goal of human life was to be identified with the god and the goddess. That goal was attained at blissful death, as many Anatolian epitaphs show. The dead returns to the mother who bore him,[1] and he is identified with the god (or goddess) by his descendants who worship him annually on the day of his death and entrance into the new life.

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[1] It is published by Professor A. Petrie in my *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 128.

[2] Published by Buresch in his *Claros*, and more correctly by Keil and von Premerstein in their first *Reise in Lydia*, see *Österr. Jahreshefte*, 1910, pp. 8 ff.

[3] In each case ἐνεβάτευσαν, as the hero-founder of a new colony, stepped on to the ship that carries him away, or sets foot on the land where the new colony is to be founded.

It is useful to refer the reader to Makridi's articles in the *Österreichische Jahreshefte*, 1906 and 1912; bodies of Hymnodoi (maintained in readiness at public expense doubtless) are mentioned at Akmonia, Hypaipa, etc., see Keil and von Premerstein, *Österreich. Jahreshefte*, 1908, p. 105, and my *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, vol. i. Part II. pp. 630, 646, 359.

The marriage ceremony was naturally followed by a feast. Only one direct mention of such a feast has been found. Near Dorla (Isaura Nova) a flat stone in its natural state as broken, shaped like a platter, roughly rounded, about 18 inches in diameter and 2 to 4 inches thick (what might be called an ostrakon), bore the following inscription, published by Calder:

> Those who were feasting
> at the marriage of Goullas[2]
> dedicated Victory to him.

This is the original monument engraved by one of a group of merry-makers at a village festival, and it sets before us a scene of rustic revel and gaiety. It shows the first simple stage of rural literary effort, out of which developed, in various directions and in various lands, the poems of Theocritus, the *Eclogues* of Virgil, and the coarse Fescennine verses of Italy. It is now (as I believe) in the museum at Konia, where we deposited it.[3]

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[1] *Iliad*, ii. 865, referring to the Lydian chiefs.

[2] Goullos is a possible form. I think that Goulas occurs: the spelling is immaterial, except sometimes as proving local pronunciation.

[3] It was copied by Miss Ramsay, Professor Calder, and me; and I purchased it from the finder, a native woman.

One of the merry-makers took the first suitable stone that came to hand, as the villagers lay feasting on the grass, and inscribed on it this simple memorial. It is common to dedicate the statue of one god to another; see above, Fig. 3. Here the statue of Victory is dedicated to the bridegroom, who has taken the place of the god in the mystic marriage. Victory, as the goddess that is dedicated to him, presides over the feast. Professor Calder suggests that Nike may have been the name of the bride, and that this would give the inscription more point (as it seems to the modern Western mind); but I think that the religious idea of dedicating god to god is more in the spirit of an Asian rural scene. The idea of god is rarely absent from the Asian mind, even in a scene like this. Every feast or party of friends met in the worship of some deity, in this case Nike, and Goullas here is the chief god for the time being.

A marriage even rouses a decree of the Demos. Meetings of the people had rarely any real business to transact. The imperial government did all that needed to be done in the way of political interrelation between cities or tribes, and practically forbade such direct relations. The "alliances" celebrated on coins of the Roman period are almost certainly mere arrangements for participation in games or festivals. In one case,[1] the Demos of a division of the nation called Homanadeis congratulates a leading citizen Bianor on a marriage by which he was doing honour to the whole nation. The Demos joins in the marriage rejoicings and festival.[2] The inscription is difficult to understand except on the supposition that this leading citizen gave a splendid feast on the occasion of the marriage of his son Ingenas,[3] while the bride is not named.

Such decrees were in most cases paid for by the person honoured, and thus each little state tried to maintain its finances in reasonable order.

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[1] See Sterrett, *Wolfe Expedition*, p. 140.

[2] ἑορτή is the term used in this and in the preceding case.

[3] Perhaps false construction: Ingenua (Lat. *ingenua*). Then the son is not named.

A remarkable statement occurs in Xanthus of Lydia.[1] Sadyattes had a legitimate son Alyattes, his successor, by his own sister, and two illegitimate sons, Attales and Adranys, by other women, sisters to each other. This points to some Anatolian or Lydian marriage custom, according to which inheritance and kingship was transmitted through the female line, and the son of the sister of Sadyattes was the rightful heir. This custom led to those abominable marriages against which Basil of Caesarea legislated and inveighed during the fourth century A.D. Strange tales are still told about the religious assemblies of certain heretic sects in Asia Minor, especially Takhtaji, abominated by the true Moslems.

Another reference, of only legendary or semi-legendary character, to a marriage ceremony during the second century, occurs in the tale of Saint Abercius (who was in history Avircius Marcellus). In real history Avircius Marcellus was a bishop of a fairly well Christianised district of Phrygia, called the Pentapolis; his date was the second century after Christ. His historical importance lay in his being a strong antagonist of Montanism, and a champion of orthodoxy; and this has given him a place in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius. Aberkios, or Abirkios as the name is written, in an inscription not far distant, probably at Prymnessos, perhaps at some place even nearer the Pentapolis, was transformed by mythopoeic fancy into the saint that converted a purely pagan country to Christianity. In the legend that grew around his name[2] and his epitaph, there are many details that nearly (but not quite) fit into history. One concerns us here. The Emperor

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[1] Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* i. p. 40.

[2] The fullest discussion of it is in my *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, Part II. The Pentapolis of Phrygia Salutaris was the valley of Sanduklu, with the five cities mentioned first in his list by Hierocles in his *Traveller's Companion* (Synekdemos).

Marcus Aurelius had a daughter Lucilla, whom he desired to give in marriage to his colleague L. Verus. To take Eckhel's account, Lucilla was born in A.D. 147 and was married to Verus in 164. Verus was in the East, and her father conducted her to Brundisium, whence she sailed to Ephesus, the great harbour through which the East then looked out on the West. Here Verus met her. According to the legendary biography, she was taken ill at the age of sixteen, *i.e.* in A.D. 163, and she was, in the legend, cured by the Saint, who was summoned to Rome by the Emperor for the purpose. Then followed her journey and her marriage to L. Verus in 164 in the temple.

This fits very well; but it imputes to the writer of the legendary biography too minute and perfect knowledge of the facts to be treated as history. Probably he was simply concocting a tale of edification to suit the epitaph, which was found by us much mutilated in Phrygia, and which is now in the Lateran Museum of Christian Antiquities at Rome.

The epitaph mentions the wide journeys of the Saint westwards towards Rome, and eastwards beyond the Euphrates as far as Nisibis. In Rome he saw a king (*i.e.* the Emperor of the legend) and a queen (probably the Church) wearing gold robes and gold shoes. This queen, the historic and infamous Faustina, presented, in gratitude for her daughter's cure, 3000 bushels of corn annually to the poor of the Saint's own city (as the Saint requested), and this donation continued until Julian, A.D. 363–365, put a stop to it.

The biographical or hagiographical legend was composed later than A.D. 363; but it has some historical foundation, at which we can hardly even guess. The historical Avircius Marcellus ordered his epitaph to be engraved on a stone of the altar type, common at the time; and this stone still exists. He stood by and saw that there was engraved on it a hexametrical epitaph, in which he recited the chief events of his life, and the chief

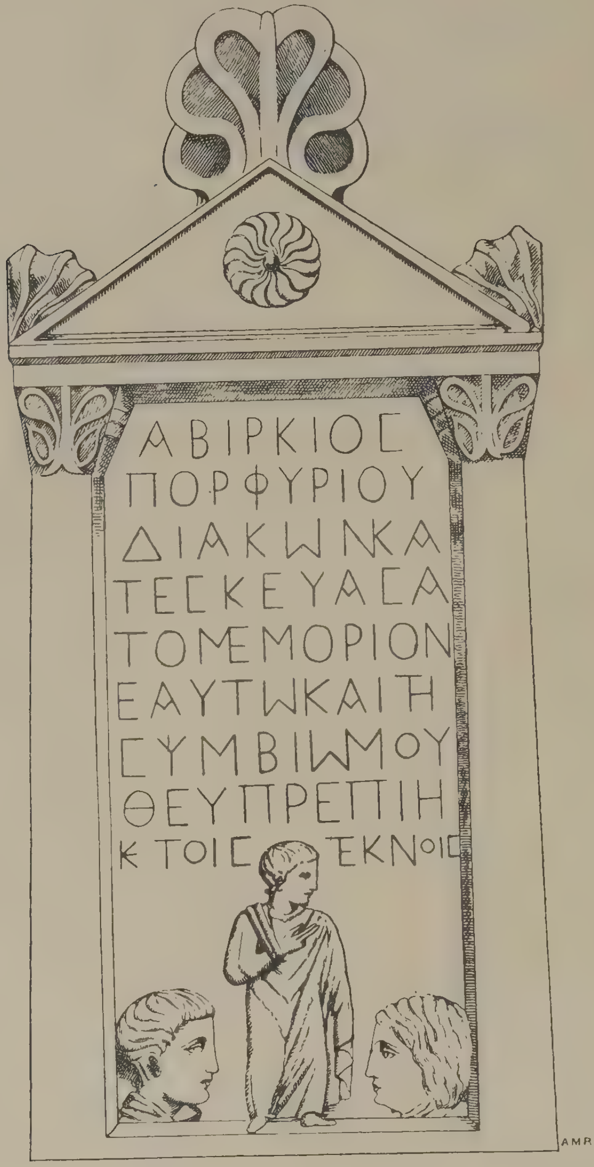
ΑΒΙΡΚΙΟϹ
ΠΟΡΦΥΡΙΟΥ
ΔΙΑΚΩΝΚΑ
ΤΕϹΚΕΥΑϹΑ
ΤΟΜΕΜΟΡΙΟΝ
ΕΑΥΤΩΚΑΙΤΗ
ϹΥΜΒΙΩΜΟΥ
ΘΕΥΠΡΕΠΙΗ
Κ ΤΟΙϹ ΤΕΚΝΟΙϹ
AMR

FIG. 5.

principles of the orthodox faith; but all is expressed in a cryptic form, so that it would seem to the outer pagan world susceptible of a suitable interpretation to them, but bore a very different meaning to the Christians. Any traveller might go to Rome and see an emperor and an empress; and a pure virgin, still unmarried, might enter into the story; the people who wore a brilliant signet ring could be interpreted as the Roman aristocracy. The "faithful letters"[1] which the Saint bore were to the Christians letters or credentials, which would serve as his introduction to the Church wherever he went, but any one might carry letters for friends; and the Saint found everywhere orthodox friends, thinking like himself; and he partook of the Holy Sacrament everywhere. The Virgin grasped the (sacred) fish to her bosom. Fish were sacred in many parts of Anatolia and Syria. Nothing is glaringly Christian; but all has an esoteric meaning. The very name Euxenianus (used in the legend) was used on the Lydo-Phrygian frontier lands, not far away (see Fig. 2), in the form Euxenion.

In these circumstances, while paganism was still struggling for life, the marriage of Lucilla might quite naturally be understood even by the archaeologist, if any there were, as taking place in the temple, like the betrothal of Kamma and Sinorix, and as implying a mystic ceremonial. It was mystic alike to the pagan and the Christian.

The historical character that underlies the legend of Saint Aberkios (the historical Avircius Marcellus) is proved not merely by the approach to real facts, but also by the occurrence of the name in his own country. The Councils of the Church supply one other instance of the name. The second is shown in the accompanying inscription found at Seulun (Prymnessos), on the gravestone of a deacon, Abirkios, son of Porphyrios, and his wife. B and OΥ are almost equivalent in Anatolian Greek spelling of the third century.

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[1] γράμματα πιστά.

The name is a very rare one. I once thought that it might have come from Gaul (Cisalpine or Transalpine), as the syllables can be traced separately in the Celtic tongue; but a Celtic scholar, now long dead, refused to recognise it, and I did not dare to contravene his authority. Since then a German scholar took up the same idea independently.

CHAPTER XVII

THE FOUR IONIAN TRIBES

In an article in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1920, p. 200 f., on the four Ionian tribes which are widely known in the Ionian cities and colonies, and which are familiar to all as an early institution in Attica, I suggested and wrongly rejected an explanation, which during subsequent study of Iono-Anatolian words has gradually established itself as the most probable.

We are, of course, in this book dealing only with probabilities, not with certainties, except where Hesychius or some other trustworthy authority makes a definite assertion.[1] An occasional passage of Herodotus or other author is useful, *e.g.* Euripides, *Ion*, in the last speech of the goddess Athenaia.

The four tribes, which are indubitably Asian in origin, are usually enumerated as Geleontes or Gedeontes, Aigikoreis, Argadeis or Ergadeis, and Hopletes. The authorities differ greatly about this old enumeration and the proper order. That there was this ancient division of the Attic people into four tribes (phylae) is a primary fact: we cannot penetrate further back. Euripides ascribes it to the four sons of Ion, *i.e.* the Ionian settlement in Attica. Aristotle, in the Athenian *Politeia*, ch. xli., mentions this system as the first and earliest; he does not name the tribes, but connects them with Ion and his comrades, who united the whole of Attica into one State.[1]

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[1] The *Etymologicum Magnum* is a small collection from old scholia, and is far less useful. Pollux and Suidas are too general, but contain useful information: they try to do too much. Diodorus, except incidentally, confines himself to Roman, Josephus to Jewish antiquities.

Under Theseus, many of whose exploits were performed outside Attica, and who was really in a sense a foreign hero, though he lived in tradition as the great founder of Attic nationality and unity, there was some attempt made to introduce the triple system, but only of classes, not of tribes. This European system of three, Eupatridai, Geômoroi, and Dêmiourgoi, is rather an interruption than a real step in development,[2] and its author Theseus was often said to be a son of Poseidon and Aethra, an alien princess of Troezen:[3] it has the appearance of Peloponnesian influence, and it was not permanent.

Section I. The Quadruple and the Triple Tribal System.—The institution of the four tribes in Attica, which is associated in tradition with Ion and his four sons (*i.e.* with the early Ionian settlement in that country),[4] has all the appearance of Asiatic origin.

The four castes in Hinduism are a very ancient institution, but the castes have been much mixed during the wars of nations; and yet, amid the forces of conquest and the rule of conquerors over subject races, there remains the fundamental idea of difference in occupation, Priests, Warriors, Agriculturists, and Artisans (as Professor Eggeling asserts).[5] Brahmins, Kshatriya, Vaisya, and Sudra are restricted to four several duties, though other modern scholars would open to the Vaisya a variety of occupations, for four occupations are too narrow a range as civilisation grows. So

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[1] Ἴωνος καὶ τῶν μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ συνοικησάντων: these words place it beyond doubt that an immigrant Ionian people formed Attica into the first stage of its growth as a single State, and grouped the people into four tribes.

[2] It is not mentioned by Aristotle, *Polit.*

[3] Or he was half legitimate son of the Attic king Aegeus and Aethra.

[4] With Ernst Curtius, I regard an early settlement in European Greece, mainly in Attica, as one of the great early events in Greek history.

[5] *Encycl. Britannica*, ed. xi. vol. 13, p. 502 f.

Plato classes together hunters, shepherds, and agriculturists in one of his ideal classes.[1] However much Plato was guided by philosophic principles, the idea of four tribes devoted to four occupations and modes of life was too deeply fixed in his mind to be disregarded ; and yet in his time society had become during a long development far too complex to be confined within such restricted limits. In Ionia, in European Greece, on the Anatolian plateau, and in India we must suppose that there did exist once a social state which was adapted to the fourfold way of life, and that wars, racial differences, and the rule of tribe over tribe, all tended to fall ultimately under that primaeval system.

Among the Dorians, on the other hand, immigration and conquest triumphed, and the beginning of their political system lay in the victory of two united and allied tribes over native races and the gradual admission of the conquered to a pseudo-equality. The numbers in each tribe differed greatly, but the tripartite system prevailed. This is a European idea.

In Attica political changes were far more rapid and thoroughgoing than among the Spartans and other Dorian tribes. In Crete, where so many races found refuge that no united nationality could establish itself permanently,[2] the Dorians were simply one race of a number of old and new settlers, who could not overcome their rivals (Chapter III.). The geographical barriers interposed by mountain, glen, and sea were insuperable. On the west Asiatic coast the tribal system proved also evanescent: and a certain tendency to unify different races and cities, and to transplant the people of one city to increase another, is strikingly apparent.

Section II. The Four Hindu Castes.—It is a remarkable fact that, whereas in India (see Section I.) the idea of divine supremacy fixed the priestly caste as the highest, and their conservatism prevented human development, the priests in the Ionian and Attic quadripartite tribal system are rarely mentioned as highest. The cultivator of the ground was, as I venture to think, the great moral figure of the world, alike in the Hittite sculpture at Ibriz, far to the east in Asia Minor, and in the Iono-Attic tribal system. The priest adores the peasant-god at Ibriz; but god is the working, toiling power, much superior in importance and in size to the priest.

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[1] See below in this chapter, Section IV.

[2] Although, yielding to the authority of Lang, Leaf, and Myers, I have accepted their translation, "Dorians with waving plumes," I incline personally to the belief that "triple-tribal Dorians" is the true translation and the true European idea, even in Crete.

In Asia the religious influence is always stronger: in Europe the political struggle of party with party (usually originating in difference of race) is the supreme fact. Only in the ideals of Plato (*Critias* and *Timaeus*) are the priests placed first. In Athens and in Rome tribes became merely part of a political machine for voting. The four city tribes in Rome were the humblest among the total, which grew to be thirty-five; and in these city tribes, all freedmen were enrolled.

The primaeval division goes back to Ion, who unified the people of Attica, and classified them into four Phylae, twelve Phratriae or Trittyes, 360 families (γένη), and 10,800 individual members of families (γεννηταί). This represents a tradition that implies a settlement of the Old-Ionians in Attica. The scattered tribes of Attica were divided by mountain ridges and mutual dislike. Those early Ionian settlers instituted a classification of the entire people into four tribes (φυλαί), which were necessarily subdivided. The phratriai may have been fixed for a time at the number twelve; but the regulation numbers of families and individuals could not have been more than a brief and temporary arrangement. The numbers must have grown larger steadily, as the population increased, while emigration to colonies had not begun.

The division into phratrai is the ancient method, recorded by Homer in *Iliad*, iii. 362, but he necessarily uses the term nations (phyla), not the technical term tribes (phylae). The sole point in which Theseus diverged from the old Asian and Ionian system was in adopting apparently the Dorian triple system of classes, Eupatridae, Geomoroi, Demiourgoi, instead of the Ionian and Asian quadruple system of tribes; but his Eupatridae seem to have embraced both priests and warriors, and to have been in possession of all civil and religious offices and to have been the exponents of the law (which was still uncodified and unwritten) and the declarers of religious right and usage. The other two classes had to accept this interpretation from the aristocratic class in whose possession lay the principles of interpretation.

Section III. The Four Tribes of Iconium.—The only place in the interior plateau of Asia Minor where the existence of four tribes can be proved with almost complete certainty is Iconium, as is shown in the inscription on Fig. 6. The restoration is largely conjectural, being founded on a poor copy by Hamilton; and the stone must already in his time have been in a very bad condition. Hamilton, indeed, was a geologist by profession and interest, not an epigraphist; but his copies of inscriptions are almost always good, because he was careful and thorough in everything, and sought for truth, not glory. I have often called him "the prince of travellers in Asia Minor," and consider him, after many years' experience, to deserve this title fully.

The inscription was arranged between four garlands representing the four tribes.[1] The tribes, unfortunately, have changed their names in compliment to the Roman Emperors. It was a common practice to inscribe within a garland the name of a tribe, as here; sometimes "the Senate" or "the Demos" is engraved in this way.

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[1] *τὰ τέσσαρα στέμματα τῆς κολωνίας.* Iconium was made a Roman colony by Hadrian; but no Latin or Romanists were sent to it. The title was an honour. See *J.H.S.*, 1918, p. 183; Boeckh, 3995 b; but Boeckh's publication, based on Hamilton, is unintelligible. My restoration is conjectural, but seems guaranteed by the words.

Singly from other inscriptions we learn the names of three, but all four were inscribed within four garlands. One is Augusta, probably representing an original Dias, for Augustus was worshipped as Zeus. Another is the tribe of Heracles, the toiling god, and the benefactor of men by subduing the earth for their use: it became Hadriana. A third was the tribe of Athena, having a second name beginning with P,[1] but the rest of the name is now lost. The fourth has perished entirely, but a plausible conjecture would make it Hephaestias, the tribe of craftsmen: or perhaps it may have been called after Hermes, the messenger, who is so frequently associated with Zeus as his servant and as the speaker (see Acts xiv. 12). It

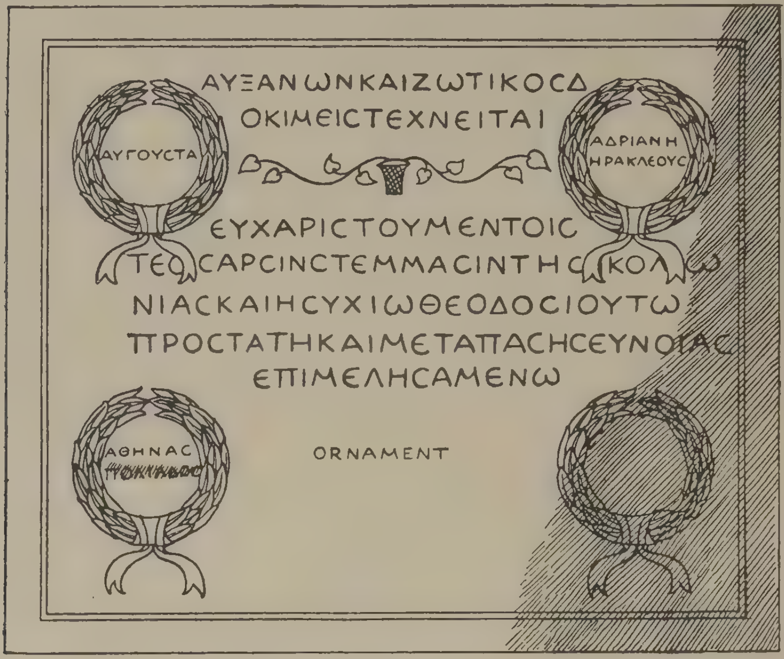

Fig. 6.

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[1] Perhaps Π[ολιάδος] Ἀθηνᾶς, according to Wiegand. This I do not like; but it is possibly correct.

is vain to indulge in conjecture as to the tribes. The garlands and other ornaments had evidently been chiselled off before Hamilton saw them; and three or four of the letters of the inscription had become illegible.

Section IV. Attica.—According to tradition the primitive population of Attica was autochthonous. Pollux states that the Attic tribes were always four, called at first Kekropis, Autochthon, Aktaia, and Paralia, in the time of the mythical Kekrops, first king of Attica, a land which was at that time called after his name Kekropia. Kekrops was sprung from the earth; he was an autochthon by birth, but his name is given to a different tribe. His body was in its upper part human, but in its lower part a dragon or serpent. He is sometimes said to have instituted marriage; *i.e.* he founded the social system of families in Attica. His wife was Agraulos, and his son was Erysichthon. In his reign, at the beginning of Attic history, occurred the contest between Athenaia and Poseidon for the lordship of the whole country (mentioned below in this chapter). Other primitive institutions of society in Attica were attributed to Kekrops, such as the abolition of sacrifices of blood (presumably human blood, for the sacrifice of animals was never abolished); he substituted cakes in the place of slain victims.[1]

With the substitution of pelanoi for human victims compare the sacrifice of Isaac commuted into the sacrifice of a ram, and the statement in an inscription of Cilicia Tracheiotis which my friend and old pupil, Professor T. Callander, communicated to me, that part of the sacrifice to the dead in that barbarous land consisted of "nine souls of men," evidently a substituted offering for nine human victims, for the period is Roman, when no such human sacrifice can have been permitted: to the Romans it was mere superstition, which they regarded as worse than wrong.[2]

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[1] Pelanoi were offerings to the gods, mixed of meal, honey, and oil.

[2] ἐννέα ψυχὰς ἀνθρωπίνας.

In other legends of Attica, Kekrops was closely connected with Erechtheus (on whom see below in this section) and with Athenaia, the Mother-Goddess of Athens.[1] To his three daughters (the eldest, Agraulos, bearing the name, *i.e.* being another form, of her mother) Athenaia entrusted a box containing the child Erichthonios, which they were commanded not to open, but they disobeyed the command, and were terrified at the sight of a serpent, the guardian genius of the land.

In the days of another later mythical king, Kranaos, the names of the four tribes were changed to Kranais, Atthis, Mesogaia, and Diakris. Then under the king or chief Erichthonios their names became Dias, Athenais, Poseidonias, and Hephaistias, and they were called in the time of Erechtheus (from the Sons of Ion, Yavan), Geleontes,[2] Hopletes, Aigikoreis, and Argadeis.

These and other tales and names evidently refer to the primitive state of Attica and of Athens, and to the gradual settlement there of the Asian Sons of Ion (Yavan), "by whom the isles and lands of the sea were parcelled out and occupied" (Genesis x. 4). There were contests even among the gods for this almost sea-girt

Euripides, *Ion*, 1579 f. Sons of Ion.	Plato, *Crit.* 110.	Plato, *Tim.* 24.	Herodotus, v. 66. Sons of Ion.	Strabo, viii. 7. 1.	Plutarch *Solon*, 23
Teleôn [Geléon]	Priests	Priests	Geleon	*γεωργοί*	Ὁπλῖτα
Hopletes	Demiourgoi	Demiourgoi	Aigikoreus	*δημιουργοί*	Ἐργαδεῖ
Argadês	Agriculturists	Shepherds	Argadês	Hieropoioi	Γεδέοντε
Aigikores (Wearers of the Aigis)	Warriors	Hunters	Hoples	Phylakes	Αἰγικορ
		Agriculturists			
		Warriors			

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[1] The cult of Athenaia-Mother was practised, but hardly anything is known about it, as it was overwhelmed by the idea of the Virgin Athenaia.

[2] Teleon for Geleon is used by Euripides, *Ion*, and by Pollux, but is certainly an error, showing how uncertain tradition and text were.

land, separated from the rest of Greece by mountains (especially Parnes), mountains not now so difficult to cross as formerly when no roads had been made.

Those earliest four tribes in the time of Kekrops derive their names from the king himself, from the indigenous population, from the long promontory, and from the sea-shore. They are purely native and local; but the prominence assigned to the promontory and the sea-shore indicates that settlements by the Old-Ionian sailors were beginning in a barbarous land.

The four tribes of Kranaos hardly represent any development from those of Cecrops, but one tribe Atthis may stand for the country in general (like the older Autochthon), while the two last are purely local divisions. The reference to the Old-Ionians has been lost. Kranaos, in fact, represents almost an earlier stage than Kekrops, but little is related about him. Both kings are really native to the soil; both represent the primitive state of the land.

Pollux, viii. 109. Time of Kekrops.	Pollux. Time of Kranaos.	Pollux. Time of Erichthonios.	Pollux: names from the Sons of Ion. Time of Erechtheus.	Stephanus Byz.
Kekropis	Kranais	Dias	Teleontes	Αἰγικορεῖς
Autochthon	Atthis	Athenais	Hoplêtes	Ἀργαδεῖς
Aktaia	Mesogaia	Poseidonias	Aigikoreis	Γελέοντες
Paralia	Diakris	Hephaistias	Argadeis.[1]	Ὁπλῖται

Erechtheus marks a more developed stage than either of the two previously mentioned. The land has a guardian spirit in the form of the household serpent, social life is beginning, and the gods have settled as patrons of the land.

Section V. The Four Tribes in Attica.—As to the number of the early Iono-Attic tribes all authorities are agreed, though

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[1] Correction of Canter, adopted in the text of Bekker, which I follow.

Pollux has substituted in one of his lists Kadeis for Argadeis. He seems to have found Gedeontes in his authority, but he can hardly be quoted in proof of this spelling, which rests mainly on Plutarch and Pollux.

Moreover, Pollux gives a still more primitive enumeration of the Athenian tribes, according to the names of their patron deities, as Dias, Athenais, Poseidonias, and Hephaestias. His two lists must be connected, and are of the same nature and number. The first list enumerates the four tribes as four religious groups protected by four special deities, whereas the other uses technical or tribal titles. Dias is the tribe of Zeus Geleon (originally Gedeon); Euripides connects the Aigikoreis with Athenaia and her Aigis; these two are respectively the toiling class which works the earth, and the class of priests, who are devoted to the service of Athenaia, the goddess of the united country Attica.

The sequence of Poseidonias after Athenais is due to the famous incident of Athenian history which made Athenaia and Poseidon contend for the place of guardian deity of the country.

For what divine figure Poseidon may perhaps have been substituted remains uncertain, but the double name Poseidon-Erechtheus on the Acropolis of Athens weighs in favour of Erechtheus-Erysichthon[1] as the guardian of the land; now there can hardly be any doubt that this guardian deity was the sacred serpent, who lives in the house and under the ground, brings good fortune and must never be killed,[2] as with him dies the luck of the household. Poseidon,

[1] Though separated in mythological record, these two names seem to me to denote the same heroic personality, like Perseus Bellerophontes, who slew the monster and led the Ionian colonisation of the south coast of Asia Minor. These first colonists became known to the Semites as the four sons of Yavan.

[2] There are practically no venomous serpents in Greece or Anatolia. I have never heard or known of any person that had died from the bite of a serpent, though in one or two cases serpents have been pointed out whose bite was said to be dangerous or even fatal; but this I regard as due to popular superstition. Erechtheus, Erichthonios, Erysichthon, all mean Saviour of the Land.

for Poti-davan, is the lord-earth, though ordinarily the Earth was conceived of as the Mother. Kekrops himself was half serpent, half man, and he was first king of Attica.

Hephaistias is naturally the class of the skilled artisans, as we have seen; and it remains that Poseidonias is the tribe of the Hoplitai or Hoplitai warriors, who made their own bows and arrows in primitive time, and tested them, as they tested all their own implements of war: he was also the horse-god, and the horse was used in war.

Thus there emerges the explanation of the strife between Athenaia and Poseidon, which of the two should rank highest as guardians of the land and its fortunes. Athenaia created and appealed to her olive, the tree of peace and comfort:[1] the olive produces the oil, the one great source of wealth in the plain of Athens: the olive is a very slow-growing tree; and the planter of the olive must look forward to a long period of peace before any result can accrue from his labour. Poseidon appealed to his horse, the animal of war, which is inevitably fatal to that distant comfort and the riches that accrue from growing the olive. The alternative was peace or war; and the aristocratic class was the horse-riding and horse-using class, as is apparent during the fifth century before Christ in Athenian history. The peasant used the ox: the noble used the horse. The peasant wanted peace; the noble was far from averse to war, though not all nobles actually desired it.

Plato placed hunters, agriculturists, and shepherds together as a single class (see *Timaeus*, 24, and *Critias*, 110). The hunters sought food, not sport. In Anatolia at the present day it is considered a crime to kill any animal except for food; just as it is wrong to throw away bread instead of eating it. Plato was guided by ancient ideas, and was not inventing novelties: his model is often to be sought in Anatolia or farther east.[1] In the *Critias* he states what he considers to be the true facts of Crete, but facts under a veil of phantasy. It is his pleasure to mention the warriors last, as lowest in his estimation; but in this he agrees with the official order in Attica (as below stated), and with the order given by Strabo.

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[1] I may venture to refer to my study of the olive as a factor in civilisation, *Pauline and other Studies in Religious History*.

The official and regular order in Attica, according to a good modern scholar,[2] whose original authority I am unable to verify, was Geleontes, Argadeis, Aigikôreis, Hopletes. So far as I can see, the nearest approach to an authority is Boeckh's commentary on *C.I.G.* ii. 3665, p. 928, where the order at Cyzicus is Geleontes, Argadeis, Aigikoreis, Hopletes, but Bôreis[3] and Oinôpes are there interposed before Hoplêtes; being presumably two tribes meant to contain population (probably native) added to the Old-Ionians. The authority would require further study, which I assume that the scholar has given. The division was based on difference of occupation and ways of life, as Strabo says. He and Pollux are agreed that there were stages in the history of the four tribes, as is Aristotle in his Athenian *Politeia*, ch. xli. Plutarch gives the impression that there existed at an earlier time four tribes who subsequently chose four different occupations; but this is an impossible inference from his authority—who, however, is good. We must imagine a primitive state of Attic society, in which there were four chief and fundamental occupations, agriculturists, artisans, priests, and warriors. Ion, having first, as Strabo says (viii. 7. 1, p. 383), divided the people of Attica into four tribes (phylae), thereafter classified them according to four ways of living. There can, however, be no doubt, judging according to natural probability and the general evidence derived from many sources, that the four tribes and the four ways of living are identical. The four tribes bore the technical and Old-Ionian names as enumerated above; but Strabo designates them from their ways of living, agriculturists (γεωργοί), skilled workmen (δημιουργοί), doers of religious things (ἱεροποιοί), and guardians (φύλακες), agreeing with the order quoted above in this paragraph as official.

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[1] That Plato was strongly influenced by Oriental ideas is admitted by all. The half philosophic, half religious myth or narrative with which his *Republic* ends, is the narrative of Er, son of Armenius.

[2] See Toepffer in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Encyclopaedie*, who quotes as his authority Meier, *De gentil. Att.* 4.

[3] On Bôreis see p. 266.

We take the agreement between Strabo and the official order, already mentioned, as the most trustworthy. Plato is philosophically inclined to place the priests first: they have to do with divine things and to interpret to men the will of the gods; and it is really difficult to see why an Asian system should not take the same view (Section I.). The fact that the Anatolians put the priests after the agriculturists and the artisans is illuminative regarding the ancient Anatolian and Old-Ionian ideas.

Otherwise Plato, *Critias*, 120, tends towards the tradition expressed by Strabo. He calls the Ergadeis or Argadeis the skilled workmen (demiourgoi), classes together with them all that gain their nurture from the ground, and at the end he places the fighting class, as the least useful in a well-ordered state, but prescribed by tradition and old custom, and as not wholly unnecessary even in a philosophic state. In the *Timaeus*, 24, he makes a clear distinction between the skilled workman (demiourgoi) and the class of shepherds and hunters and agriculturists. While Plato is not bound to an ancient Attic or Ionian custom, but speaks as a philosopher aiming at eternal truth, he was not wholly unmindful of the ancient Asian ways of life, and preserves the fourfold classification. He could not bring his philosophic mind to rank the agriculturists high; but he could not disregard the facts of life: the earth must be tilled and they that tilled the ground were more useful than mere warriors. There is every probability that he thought of Geleontes as priests, and Aigikoreis as herdsmen. Stephanus of Byzantium seems to consider the Aigikoreis as the first of the four tribes which came down from Ion, the rest being in order Ergadeis, Geleontes, and Hoplêtai.

It is a disappointment to find that the order of Euripides agrees neither with the "official" order nor with Strabo, an excellent authority for everything connected with or derived from Asia Minor. Euripides, however, clearly considers that the Aigikoreis, wearing the goatskin of Athenaia, the goddess of the land, were therefore her priests. His enumeration is perhaps modified by metrical considerations, and by the desire to make Athenaia end her enumeration with her own priests, giving them prominence and emphasis. The last place in such a poetic list is emphatic,[1] like the first; the middle two are slurred over, and are mentioned as less important, "then second are Hoplêtes and Argades." He also connects them with the four sons of Ion, implying a popular and accepted tradition which could not be seriously violated in a drama acted before the people.

The name Geleon (Teleon in Euripides, *Ion*, 1579 f., and in Plutarch, is a mere error of form) is often placed first in our authorities. Strabo means the Geleontes or Gedeontes when he uses the Greek word γεωργοί,[2] viz. those that work the earth to make it useful to mankind. Euripides and Herodotus, v. 66, make Geleon the eldest son of Ion, and first among the eponymous heroes of the four tribes; but Euripides has the subsequent order Hoplêtes, Argades, and Aigikorês,[3] while Herodotus enumerates the sons of Ion as Geleon and Aigikoreus and Argadeus and Hoples.

Plutarch, *Solon*, 23, puts the Hoplitai, or warriors, first, by a very natural error.[1] Warriors come first in a conquering tribe. There is, however, no reason to think that the Ionians settled as conquerors in Attica, rather they came as civilisers of that barbarous country. Then he mentions the artisan class, Ergadeis, the agriculturists, Gedeontes, and the class devoted to pasture and breeding of sheep, Aigikoreis.

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[1] Only Aigikoreis at the end and Geleontes at the beginning are mentioned with some description of each: the middle two are mere names.

[2] Strabo viii. 7. 1, p. 383.

[3] The enumeration is put by Euripides in the mouth of Athenaia herself, who appends her own Aigikoreis last, in order to finish the list, "named from my aigis the Aigikoreis will constitute one phylon," see *Ion*, 1579 f.

Stephanus of Byzantium puts the Aigikoreis first; but, like Plutarch, he understands them to be herdsmen, and after he had made this first error his order is disturbed and becomes untrustworthy: Argadeis, Geleontes, Hoplitai.

Plutarch depends on a good ancient tradition, which used the names Gedeontes and Ergadeis (true old forms, according to the view taken in this chapter).

The four tribes fell into disuse in Attica at a comparatively early date during the gradual development of the Athenian constitution. Partly through the prejudices of some authorities, partly through actual want of knowledge (for accuracy about past institutions was not much sought for), accounts are conflicting. Herodotus, v. 66, says that the names were derived from the four sons of Ion; and so also say Euripides and Aristotle. It is a notable coincidence that in Genesis x. 4 the sons of Yavan (the Semitic form of Ion) were four; but beyond the fourfold division there is no resemblance. The four sons of Yavan are four separate states or cities, and they can only be four divisions of the Ionian people, who settled in different regions; and one would expect to find that in each of the states (as in Ionian colonies generally) the division into four tribes existed.

The sons of Yavan (Ion) had a natural tendency towards this fourfold division; but in different settlements the four tribes would naturally acquire a different character. What is certain is that the four Attic tribes or divisions must be connected with the very ancient settlement of the Ionians in Attica, when they imposed their institutions on an uncivilised country.

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[1] The process of "civilising" a barbarous people often begins in all such countries by fighting and conquering. There is, however, the general impression that the old Greek regularly began as a peaceful trader; "and on the beach undid his corded bales"; but we have no proper trustworthy information.

As being of Asian origin the four sons of Ion in Attic story, viz. the four tribes descended from him, represent four occupations and modes of life. So Strabo says, and he is probably our best authority. Plutarch[1] agrees in a hesitating way, omitting priests altogether, and misunderstanding the term Aigikoreis. The four were priests, soldiers, artisans, and agriculturists; of these the agriculturists are really the most important, though they may seem the most humble. They are also, especially in a simple state of society, necessarily the most numerous. During the time when this Attic classification was a real political fact there was no such thing as popular voting, or counting of individual votes and numbers. In any public deliberation the popular feeling made itself apparent in other ways, as, *e.g.*, by applause or by crowding towards a speaker who expressed a widespread sentiment. Otherwise the government lay in the hands of chiefs or kings, with leading men or elders as a sort of consultative body. The names of the Attic tribes appear in two forms, Gedeontes and Geleontes.[2] It seems to me now most probable that the transition from "d" to "l" was a stage in the development of the Ionian and the Anatolian languages (as it was in Latin). Gedeontes, then, must be the older form, and it has all the appearance of being connected with Da or Gda,[3] the earth. Gedeontes are Gadavantes (with interposed vowel between two consonants), the men of the earth, the toiling peasants, who support the State. Their god is Zeus Geleon (for Gedeon), who enjoyed an ancient and obscure cult in Athens. The "Peasant God" was the lord of the state, the god that cleared the land, and worked and made the earth useful to man, a sort of toiling Heracles, whose "labours" were almost all for the benefit of man; compare, *e.g.*, the Lernaean Hydra (or marsh) and the Lion of Nemea, etc., which conceal truth under a guise of fancy and myth. With regard to the "Peasant God," I may refer to the chapter on his character in Anatolia as "the great moral figure" of the world, in *Luke the Physician and other Studies in Religious History*. He is dressed as a peasant, in contrast to the gorgeous robes of the priest who adores him, but he wears the cap of power, in the famous Hittite sculpture at Ibriz.

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[1] *Solon*, 23.

[2] Teleon in Euripides, *Ion*, and in Stephanus is a mere error (see Pollux viii. 109); but it shows that there was some doubt as to the former. Plutarch, following some good but unspecified authority, has Gedeontes.

[3] Gda for Da is probably older and Anatolian, not original Ionian, but received from the Ashkenaz, the people of the inner country.

There is considerable variation in the text of Pollux. He gives the tribes as being always in early times, before and after Ion, four (according to the text of Bekker, which is here followed). They were changed in name by different kings, Kekrops, Kranaos, and Erechtheus (who called them after the four sons of Ion), and finally for political reasons they became ten by the reforms of Alcmaeon and Cleisthenes, when the Pythian oracle selected names which were ancient.[1]

The Argadeis[2] were the skilled workers, the artisans, and their name is connected with the Greek word ἔργον, applied to the arts of the household practised by women, and to the constructive arts practised by men. A woman is praised both by Homer and in the late Phrygian dirges (Chapter IX.) for her beauty and her skilled household management (ἔργα). Their deity was Hephaestus, the god of all skilful things and labour-saving devices.[3] The Anatolian village Manarga may perhaps retain a memory of the name, as the Erga or Arga of Mannes—Men. Probably "arga" was the true Anatolian form, not "erga."

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[1] Kühn rightly altered τρία to τέως in the list of Kekrops. Canter, with equal justice, changed Kadeis to Argadeis in the list of Erechtheus. The list of Kekrops contains four names. The sons of Ion under Erechtheus were four, and Argadês or Ergades was the last. Each of the four tribes was divided into three parts.

[2] Ergadeis is the form used by Plutarch.

[3] Compare, for example, *Iliad*, i. 607-608, xx. 12.

In many Anatolian inscriptions of the Roman period, the term "skilled workman" is used almost as a title of distinction, and is added to a man's name according to certain important trades, *e.g.* tekton, carpenter and house-builder[1] (these two occupations being usually united, for a house needed both wood and stone in its walls, as in Asia Minor at the present day), chalkeus, worker in bronze or copper, and so on.

The meaning of the term "tekton" has a bearing on the often-discussed question whether Jesus, like his father Joseph, was a "carpenter" in our sense, or a "mason." The truth is that Joseph was both, and his "son" in the usual fashion was brought up to the same trade as his father; but their implements (ὅπλα) were far from being as accurate as at the present day. There can be no question what was the meaning of architect (ἀρχιτέκτων); why then of tekton? A man who could do only one of the two trades was of little use at that time. The architekton planned the entire house, wood and stone.

Aigikoreis are, as Euripides says, the priests that wear the goat's skin (aigis). They were the goat-priests of Chapter VII., the Attabokaoi[2] of Pessinus, the priests that taught the culture of the goat in a country where goat-breeding was of prime importance, as it is in the great plains that stretch south of Pessinus, the main central plateau of Asia Minor. From the misunderstanding of the term Aigikoreis spring many of the difficulties that we encounter in trying to reconcile ancient authorities. Much confusion was caused to the ancients by mistaking Aigikoreis as goat-herds instead of "goat-priests," and the mistake has seriously influenced the lists transmitted by them.

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[1] In the great earthquake at Smyrna in 1880, the houses, being built of stone, with a framework of wood embedded in the walls, suffered little; whereas at Scio in 1881 the houses, being mostly built of stone alone, tumbled like a set of card houses. I saw the next day in Scio some large, lofty, modern houses standing hardly shaken, while the poor, old-fashioned houses were a heap of fallen stones. Even in houses built mostly of sun-dried mud bricks in Anatolia there is a good deal of woodwork in those of the better class.

[2] Attago is the common form; but Buckler points out to me that the reading Kubeke in Hipponax (which the editor declines to emend) is a good parallel: Kubeke—Kubebe, like Attago—Attabo. There are other Anatolian instances of the variation, Mobolla now Mougla. I have often found some difficulty in distinguishing the Anatolian pronunciation of consonants.

The Hoplêtes must be the warriors, and must denote a special caste. Hoplôn is a common personal name in Pisidia, amid whose mountains old Anatolian customs and names lingered longest, and who were soldiers and brigands and robbers, all fighting men, hated and feared by the men of the fertile plains, the cultivators of the soil. The word ὅπλον was in origin Anatolian; it was used both in a general sense as an implement, and in a special sense as a weapon of war.

SECTION VI. THE TRIBES AND THEIR SUBDIVISIONS IN EPHESUS.—In Ephesus, which had been subjected to many changes of constitution, as it was successively Greek or Lydian, or reconstructed, there were, according to the editor of the *British Museum Inscriptions*, Part III. p. 68 f., six tribes (phylai): (1) Epheseis (the original native population whom the Attic colonists found in the land);[1] (2) Sebaste ("which owes its name and perhaps its origin to Augustus"); (3) Têioi (new colonists brought in from Teos to compensate for great losses sustained by Ephesus in a war); (4) Karenaioi (of similar character, from a town in Mysia); (5) Euonymoi (early Attic colonists); (6) Bembinaioi, or Bembeinaioi.

Little can be learned from this classification, dating from the Roman period, about the real state of early Ephesus. Possibly the tribe Sebaste was the tribe of Zeus, from the usual identification of Augustus with that god. The spelling and forms are often of late Roman period and are incorrect.

More important is the subdivision of the tribes into groups called thousands (chiliastyes). Among tribe 1, Epheseis, there are known Argadeis, Bôreis (as at Cyzicus), Lebedioi (presumably a group of settlers from Lebedos, not numerous enough to constitute a tribe), Oinôpes (as at Cyzicus); in tribe 2, Sebaste, there are known Labandêoi (perhaps either settlers from Caria, or worshippers of the god of the double axe, labranda), Sieis, and another ending in -mêoi; in tribe 3, Têioi, Eurypom-[pou ?], Echeptolemeus, Hegetoreioi, [Gel ?]eontêoi, and at least one other unknown.

In tribe 4, Karênaioi, there are Althaimeneus, probably named from a legendary hero of Crete, who fled to Rhodes and was there worshipped (Diodorus Sic. v. 59); according to Strabo (x. 479, 481, and xiv. 653), he had come from Argos to Crete, and thence to Rhodes. There was a tribe Althaimenis at Camiros in Rhodes (*Inscr. Brit. Mus.* ii., cccliii.: see also Pausanias vii. 2. 3). There are also "thousands" named Echyreos, Peios, Simôneos, and Chelôneos. Peios is local, named after Mount Pion.

In tribe 5, Euonymoi, where old names might be expected, there are known only Glaukêos and Poly[klê ?]os.

In tribe 6, Bembine, Bembinaioi, Bembineis, there are known only two "thousands," Aigôteos and Pelasgêos: the latter name suggests an ancient division, and the former an early goat-worship.

Boeckh, on *C.I.G.* 2855, conjectures (without solid ground of any kind to stand on, but with mere probability) that the four old Ionian and Attic tribes once existed at Miletus, Teos, and Cyzicus. This may be so. Wiegand's excavations at Didyma may yield proof; but at present no mere guess is of any value.

The constitution and the tribes of Ephesus are unusually well known among all the Ionian peoples, because an account of them was given by Ephoros the historian about 400–350 B.C., which is summarised by Stephanus of Byzantium[1] (unfortunately very much abbreviated), and because the constitution as fixed during the Roman imperial time is attested by numerous inscriptions, which have been skilfully published by the late Bishop Hicks (*Greek Inscr. of Brit. Mus.* Pt. III., p. 69 ff.). The city was subjected to numerous vicissitudes. New citizens were introduced and new tribes had to be made for them. The city was conquered, or rather taken over peaceably, by the Lydian king Alyattes, about 580 B.C., and more violently by the Macedonian king Lysimachus; and it was radically changed in constitution by both. Ephesus was, doubtless, first a Lydian village, the property of the goddess, then a free Ionian city, then a Lydian town under the guardianship of the goddess, then a Hellenistic city, then Roman. The number of tribes grew to six in the Roman time. The old Ionian names disappeared; but the Argadeis and perhaps the Gedeontes[1] remained as chiliastyes or "thousands" in one or other of the tribes. It is possible that there were five chiliastyes in each tribe, making thirty in all; but this is quite uncertain: others of the old names may have survived; but the list of the chiliastyes is or seems to be very defective.

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[1] Stephanus, *s.v.* Benna. Unfortunately Stephanus, in condensing the account which he took from Ephoros, makes it rather obscure in some points; but the

The Bembinaioi was the last tribe in later time; but the order may have changed in various ways. Bembinaioi is perhaps a reduplicated form of Bennaioi: compare Salouda and Salsalouda in the Tchal-Ova, mere variations, also Pasa and Paspasa in Cappadocia.[2] Bishop Hicks, however, thinks that an Argive village Bembina, close to Nemea, sent colonists to Ephesus after the return of the Heracleidae, and that these formed a special tribe; but that seems in my judgement unlikely. Still, it is highly probable that the Athenians under Androclus were accompanied by many of the

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meaning can be elicited with fair certainty. Probably Stephanus did not really understand the system very well; but he does his best to be accurate, and succeeds quite well.

[1] According to a conjecture of Bishop Hicks: [Ged or Gel]eontes.

[2] See quotations in *Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (index).

old Peloponnesians, especially from the Argolid territory, fleeing from the Dorian invasion, the so-called "Return of the Heracleidae."

LIST OF TRIBES IN EPHESUS

Roman period.	Time of Ephoros.
1. Epheseis	Epheseis
2. Sebaste	
3. Têioi	Teioi
4. Karênaioi	Karinaioi
5. Euônymoi	Euômynoi
6. Bembinaioi	Bennaioi

The words quoted from Ephoros, about 400–350 B.C., are very important in their bearing. Androclus, son of Codrus, king of Athens, was said to have led an Attic migration to Asia Minor, and to have founded the Greek city Ephesus; but he made war on Priene disastrously; and the Ephesians lost so many men, that the survivors rebelled against the sons of Androclus. Colonists and helpers came to Ephesus from Teos and Karina. These were enrolled in two new tribes; the original inhabitants, whom the new colonists had found there, were called Ephesioi, and the two tribes of introduced settlers were called Têioi and Karinaioi, while the Attic founders of the Greek Ephesus were called Euônymoi from the name of an Attic deme.[1] It is implied in this account that the old native population of Ephesus must have constituted a tribe. They could not be expelled; there is no precedent for thinking that they were massacred; at that time the older population were always accepted and incorporated in the new city. In Ephesus, especially, the older population was strong in the protection of the native goddess; and to have degraded them in any way would have offended the divine power that ruled the land. They were therefore made the first tribe, and the chief priest of the goddess by hereditary right, as sprung from the Lydian king Kandaules, was a conspicuous and splendid figure among them (see Chapter XII. B).

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[1] A good discussion of these incidents by Hicks (as quoted above on p. 261 f.). The old book by E. Curtius, *Beiträge zur Gesch. und Topographie*, written from personal local study, is worthy of much more attention than it has received from those who have not seen the district. Other authorities are given by Hicks, *loc. cit.*

It is evident in history that Ephesus was the least thoroughly hellenised and the most truly Lydian of all the Ionian cities; and this is indicated by the primary position of the ancient Lydian population among the five tribes about 400 B.C., and in the Roman period. They held the priesthood; the temple was at the Lydian end of the city: the temple, the Christian church of St. John Theologos, and the old Seljuk mosque are all close together.[1] At this point the immense power of the goddess and her priests was concentrated. When Alyattes gave his daughter in marriage to Melas, a wealthy citizen of Ephesus, it is probable that he chose one of the Lydian element and tribe; for this marriage would strengthen that element.

It is highly probable that there was by no means a harmony of feeling between the Greek part of the city and the Lydian. Hipponax, an Ionian Greek, seems to have made a specially scurrilous attack on the chief priest (see p. 180). The priest is said to have been called by the Persian title Megabuzes; and it is possible that a Persian title was given to him under Persian domination, but it seems not improbable that *buzes* or *bozes* was an Anatolian word meaning the representative of the god: see my *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, Pt. I. p. 152 f., No. 52, where it is shown that Bazis-Bozis meant "the estate of the god" (both at Tyana and on the Lydo-Phrygian frontier).[2]

It would not be possible here to study closely the "thousands" of Ephesus; they imply Carian elements as well as Ionian and

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[1] They are all embraced in one photograph published in my *Letters to the Seven Churches*, Pl. III., facing p. 216.

[2] Compare the Sclavonian word *bogu*, god. The late Byzantine name Phobabindi Hierapolis is for Boga.

Greek and Lydian. One was called Labandêos,[1] where the disappearance of the "r" after "b" is an Anatolian peculiarity.[2] Aigôteos points to an early form of goat-breeding according to the rules prescribed and enforced by religion. The goddess probably had her earliest home among the mountains south of Ephesus, and she was then a goat-goddess as well as a bee-goddess (see Chapter VII.). Hicks, however, connects Aigôteos with an ancient Arcadian town Aigus, and the "Thousand" Pelasgêos with Arcadian Pelasgians who accompanied the Attic emigrants. Perhaps he is right.

There was a local element among the "thousands," as, *e.g.*, Peios took its name from Mount Peiôn;[3] and probably other examples might be given with fuller knowledge of the "thousands" and of the parts or divisions of Ephesus.

Two of the "thousands" in the tribe Epheseis, Bôreis and Oinôpes, bear names that are markedly Anatolian. They also occur at Cyzicus along with the four old Ionian tribes. The only town in Upper Anatolia where four tribes are known to have existed is Iconium, that ancient city where the old legend of the flood and the mourning of Nannakos was localised. They are given as four, but three only are known, as shown in Fig. 5, taken from *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1918, p. 183. According to Boeckh on *C.I.G.* 2855 and 3064, whom Hicks follows, there were originally the four old Ionian tribes at Miletus and Teos. Two were added at Miletus.

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[1] The termination -ηος is probably a bad form of -ιος or -ειος: many similar cases occur.

[2] Labraundis was a tribe at Mylasa in Caria (Hicks).

[3] Hicks prefers to connect it with the Emperor Antoninus Pius.

CHAPTER XVIII

ANATOLIAN WOMEN

The Bishop of Gloucester long ago sought to establish examples, cut down in some cases by Professor Calder, of descent through the mother in general Anatolian custom (as it was in Lycian custom according to Herodotus, i. 173). Proof of an allied, but not identical, custom may be found in the queen of the Homanadeis, who defeated and killed Amyntas, and in the queen Aba, who was so prominent a figure in the history of Cilicia Tracheiotis.[1] That tribes dwelling in the freedom of the mountains should admit a woman to rule them in critical circumstances is clear evidence that great authority was attributed to women in the early custom of the country, and the regions in question are the stronghold of surviving ancient Anatolian habits. The influence exercised by women forms one of the most remarkable features of the land. On the border between fable and history we find the Amazons, against whom Priam tells of his fighting as ally of the Phrygians on the banks of the Sangarios, which implies an old condition of Troy and of Anatolia that we can hardly guess at (*Iliad*, iii. 189). Under the Roman Empire we hear of women as magistrates, presidents of councils, and loaded with honours. The custom of the country influenced even the Jews, who in at least one case at Smyrna chose a woman to act as archisynagogos. In Smyrna, a busy trading town, there would naturally be a large body of Jews. Examples of these women magistrates in Roman time have been collected with much diligence by M. Pierre Paris.[1]

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[1] The Queen of the Homanadeis, Strabo, xii. 7. 6, p. 569; Aba, Strabo, xiv. 5. 10, p. 672.

Universal education for men and women alike has never been more boldly advocated than by Tatian. Now Tatian was a Syrian or Assyrian, and the heretical sect which originated from him was allied to the Encratites and to other sects common in Central Asia Minor, especially in Phrygia, as Professor Calder points out in *Anatolian Studies*, pp. 68 ff. Those sects of Phrygian heretics were severely treated by the Orthodox Church, and preferred the Turkish rule to that of Constantinople, constituting a permanent danger in the attempts of John Comnenus to break or reduce the Seljuk power.[2]

In the Montanist "heresy," which was in some degree a preference for the old against the new, and for ancient Anatolian ways against too complete a revolutionising of them, Montanus had as his chief subordinate leaders the prophetesses Maximilla and Priscilla; and their prominent position was probably a strong force to determine the growing "Catholic" Church against the outstanding position of women. Still we find deaconesses mentioned as eminent persons in the early Christian inscriptions of northern Lycaonia. Moreover, a glance over Calder's useful paper on "Anatolian Heresies" in *Anatolian Studies*, p. 71 ff., impresses us with the prominence and special position there assigned to women: they are called Asketriai and other terms indicating strict asceticism.

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[1] See his treatise *Quatenus feminae in Asia Minore res publicas attigerint*; but his inferences seem to me not to show sufficient familiarity with Anatolian custom. The question is also touched on in my *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, pp. 67, 161, 345, 360. The prominence assigned to women was pagan rather than Christian, and heretical rather than Catholic. It was contrary to both Hellenic and Roman influence, and was strongest where that influence was weakest; but where that influence was strong, the position of women in law and public power, though nominally little affected, was reduced to a mere honorary and titular standing. In Greek and Roman law a woman required a κύριος or *tutor*.

[2] See *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 389.

Further, the whole story of St. Thekla shows a female figure, the spirit of the mountain Takali (Arabic *Dakalias*), the Balance, originally called Tekla (a form often used in inscriptions of the Roman period),[1] in a native Iconian tale, first adopted by the ascetic sects and then taken over from them by the Catholics with the most marked heretical or non-Catholic features toned down. For example, she was pictured as possessing the right to baptize (which is toned down to the fact that she fell into a trench containing water, and declared that she regarded this as her baptism).

In the scene that takes place in the arena at Pisidian Antioch, Thekla speaks as the representative of all women, not merely of Christian women. In the treatment meted out to her, the rights and the standing of all women were outraged. The women, all pagans, who raised an enthusiastic cry in her favour, took the same view that she championed: her cause was theirs;[2] they took her to be some devotee, bound by unusual conditions. She was to them a sort of "dervish," but women in Anatolia had as much right in such a matter as men. An exiled queen, Tryphaena of Pontus, residing in widowhood at Antioch, took her part, and became surety for her, and carried Thekla away in safety to her own house,[3] there to await the day of trial.

The right of refraining from marriage, even after being betrothed, is a marked incident in the tale of Thekla, and the feature of virginity and asceticism generally is properly regarded by Professor W. M. Calder as characteristic of most of the heretic sects. A curious example of the emphasising of this female right anew in the last struggle between paganism allied with the Roman Empire against the new religion, occurs in an inscription of Appa in Isaurika, "Ma, daughter of Pappas, virgin, and by family right priestess of the goddess and the hagioi (saints), restored and roofed with tiles the temple at her own expense."[1] The terms "virgin" and "saints" are taken over in that inscription from the Christian Church by the lady Ma, who bears the name of the Great Goddess. The title "virgin" was used in the Anatolian religion to designate the female slaves of the sanctuary; but it was practically never used by pagans in this simple unexplained fashion almost like a hieratic rank. The verb "to act and live for a time as an unwedded slave of the sanctuary" is more characteristic of paganism than the simple term "virgin," which was applied in the early Church to widows that did not marry again, as well as to maidens; the condition imposed being that they should devote their life to charitable work.

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[1] See Chapter V. p. 56.

[2] See *The Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 399, 407, 412 f., etc.

[3] At the present day we have been shown from a little distance the exact place above Sille or Tsille (Professor Dawkins uses the former name, I always seemed to hear the latter; but he is a better authority than I, and the analogy of Sillyon tells in his favour), where the mountain opened to receive Thekla and to save her from the pursuit of her betrothed or of robbers (according to different versions).

The temple had fallen into decay and was renovated by Ma, which implies that the temple had been deserted. It was now lawful for her to come forward as priestess by hereditary right, and to restore the temple and the priestly service; a fact which points to the time of Julian, 361–363, when the attempt was made by the Emperor to galvanise the old cults into new life. It was the time to which Swinburne's words apply:

Not as thine, not as thine, was our mother, a blossom of flowering seas,
Clothed round with the world's desire as with raiment, and fair as the foam,
And fleeter than kindled fire, and a goddess, and mother of Rome.
For thine came pale and a maiden and sister to sorrow; but ours
Her deep hair heavily laden with odour and colour of flowers,
White rose of the rose-white water, a silver splendour, a flame,
Bent down unto us that besought her, and earth grew sweet with her name.

Yet this pagan revival lasted only for a moment, and Julian, slain in his last battle against the Parthians, could only say as he died, "Galilean, thou hast conquered." He alone maintained the struggle; and with him it ceased. A few nobles and senators in Rome and the great cities remained pagan, and were not disturbed by the Emperors, though occasionally a popular riot was excited by Christian fanatics against them.

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[1] παρθενεύειν.

A case occurred as late as the time of Basil of Caesarea, and is known to us from his letters, in which a certain Glycerius, a deacon, excited to devotional ecstasy, quite in the old pagan style, a band of women, chiefly young and all emotional, to leave their homes, and go away with him to practise religious rites. We know only from Basil what occurred, and he states his own side. It was obviously a very dangerous practice, and might lead to much evil; but Basil interfered sternly. The only penalty, however, that he imposed was that Glycerius and his virgins should return to their homes peacefully, and that nothing of the same kind should be done again.

When we take this in connexion with the stern laws which Basil announced against illicit marriages in his diocese, and in general with the counter-feeling which his rigour roused, it becomes apparent that the old Anatolian custom of women acting very freely and vindicating their right to do so, had by no means ceased about A.D. 371.

CHAPTER XIX

THE KABEIROI

The personal name Kabeiris was used in Tracheiotis, as appears from a remarkable inscription found by Professor T. Callander, dating about A.D. 200, in which an uncle and a nephew both are called Kabiris, *i.e.* man of the gods Kabeiroi. The genealogy of the family for generations is recovered, and is full of old Anatolian names.[1]

On Pisidian coins the worship of the Kabeiroi was often shown. They are represented in several ways: (1) as a pair of warriors, armed and nude, like the naked Homanadensian soldier on the monument to the deified Augustus at Pisidian Antioch; (2) as a pair of warriors with the crescent between them, the crescent being the symbol of the moon-goddess; (3) as a pair of dismounted cavaliers, each holding his horse with a standing goddess between them; (4) as unseen figures represented by two altars, each surmounted by a star.[2]

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[1] The names of the ladies are not given, except in one case, Immatis (Mateis in Iconium); four sons named, and four daughters unnamed, occur in one generation. The proper treatment of this family would occupy a whole chapter, but Callander's paper is lying in America awaiting publication.

[2] (1) Adada, Pednelissos, Sagalassos; (2) Pednelissos, Prostanna, Verbe; (3) Akalissos, Ariassos, Kodroula, Termessos, Sibidounda: the last is usually assigned to Phrygia, but is, in an article now in the press for the second number of *Orient*, identified with the modern Zivint or Sivint, a little north of Termessos; Sivint is the same name as Sibidinda, a variant form of Sibidounda, and was abbreviated in

These twin gods on Pisidian coins were by the Greeks called the Dioskouroi, and the female figure between them was called Helena. The type was modelled to suit this identification; and the names are accepted by numismatists. The twin gods, however, would be more correctly named the Kabeiroi.[1] They are the gods worshipped by and representative of the Khabiri, the bodyguard of the Hittite kings, also called Sagasi, executioners, in the Assyrian inscriptions.

Hill, in *Cat. Brit. Mus.* p. cvii, says, "The Dioskouroi" (Kabeiroi) "are one of the commonest types in this part of Pisidia" (Sagalassos to Termessos). "The 'two Emperors Caracalla and Geta' described by the Prince of Saxe-Coburg, *Rev. Numism.*, 1891, p. 248, are possibly the Dioskouroi. The altars of the two heroes" (I should prefer the term gods), "each within its shrine, are seen on several coins; the pillar between them may be intended to support dedications, or, more probably, to represent the temple, which appears in one case" (these are all at Sagalassus).

If the two Emperors are identified as the Dioskouri, this would be a complete proof that the personalities with whom they are identified are gods, not mere heroes. An Emperor was regularly identified with the chief god of a city.

The accompanying Fig. 7 shows that the female figure between the Kabeiroi is the great goddess herself. They are here represented as horsemen, grouped on each side of the supreme goddess.

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pronunciation to Sibindi: Sibid, Sibda was the Anatolian name for pomegranate (Hesychius). Head declared that coins of Sibidounda had none of the marks of Phrygian coins, but were similar in type to those of Pisidia; (4) Sagalassos, where the cult appears in varied forms, claimed to be "first city of the Pisidians."

[1] When the Khabiri were first discovered in cuneiform inscriptions about 2000 B.C. the idea prevailed for a time that they were Hebrews resident in Syria and Palestine long before the Exodus. Their true character has been established by Forrer and Sayce. A Pisidian relief, dedicated *Διοσκόροις*, copied by us in 1901, is published by Buckler, *J.H.S.*, 1924, Pl. I., 5. The dedicants are man and wife (Persis, Persio, not Perseus).

The figure on the right bears the battle-axe on his shoulder; the figure on the left, a horseman, is mutilated, but was doubtless the same as the other.

The three Kabeiroi were called in their great seat on Samothrace Axiokersos, Axiokersa, and Axieros: two brothers and a sister between them.[1] The interpretation of the three figures as Castor, Pollux, Helena is a misfit, because the second sister, Clytaimestra, is dropped. Connected with the three powers is Kasmilos, called King of Asia and King of the Kabeiroi;[2] he is understood to be their father. Sayce's identification of Kasmilos with a name in the Hittite form Khasamilis is very tempting; he was an ancient king, the ancestor of the later kings, deified at his death, and worshipped by his descendants.

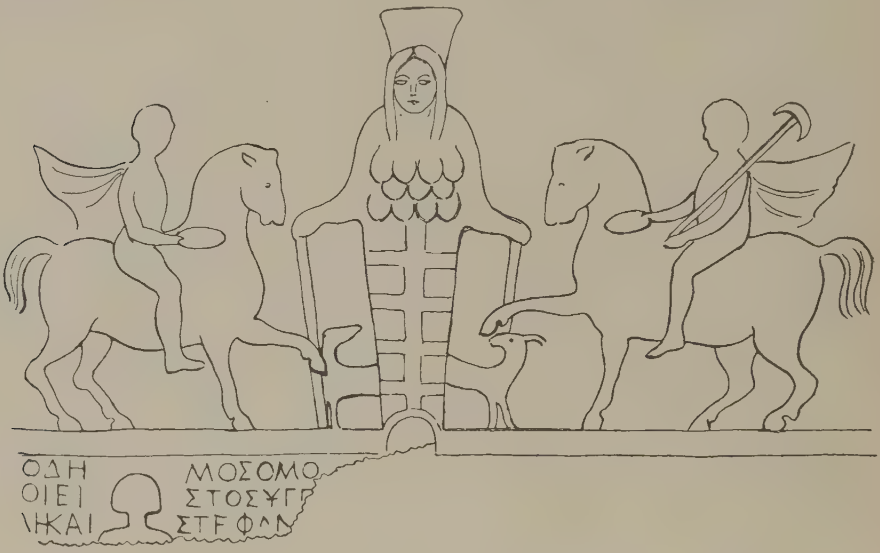

Fig. 7.

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[1] The accounts transmitted of this mystic Samothracian company of deities vary greatly. I have taken what seems to me most probable.

[2] Authorities are quoted in Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* Kabeiroi.

In Fig. 7 they face towards the goddess in the centre, who is almost identical in form with the Ephesian goddess, the body that of the queen-bee, a great ovary, arms held out on each side supported by staves or sceptres, and human feet peeping out at the base of the long veiled tapering body.

This rude, broken relief explains the religious character, and leaves no doubt as to the origin of the cult, which is as old as, and may be older than, the Hittite period. The inscription is a mere fragment of which the beginning may be restored as follows :

> The demos of the Mo[ssyneis gives ef-
> fect according to the de[cree by a ste-[1]
> le (here radi-ated head) and a cr[own (relief broken). . .

With regard to the mystic pair, Axiokersos, Axiokersa, the element -kersos recalls the strange tale of the Lydian Kersos, a sort of thief, brigand, wooer, and intended murderer, who is connected with the traditions of the Herakleid dynasty and with Thyessos ; see Nicolas of Damascus in Müller's *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, iii., and Radet, *La Lydie et le monde grec*. The latter tries to make it into history rather too bluntly ; it is tradition, and Kersos is probably a Lydian name of Hermes, the god of thieves.

There can be hardly any doubt that this Fig. 7 is a monument that was originally exactly similar to those of the Brotherhood in Chapter XIV. It was a Phratra that was honoured here as at the neighbouring Thiounta ; but, although the old warrior type was generally retained on coins, at Thiounta the Phratra had become purely agricultural early in the first century. At Mossyna, however, the warrior type was still kept to that time. Yet the whole district is confined, and the villages of Thiounta and Mossyna are close together on the high land that breaks down towards the Maeander gorge. Across the Maeander gorge on the opposite plateau is the village Motella (now still retaining its name as Medele), in which the name of the old Hittite king Mutallu is unmistakable (see p. 154).[1]

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[1] *στήλ-λῃ* was the form used, divided between two lines. The verb lost in l. 1 is [*βεβαι*]*οῖ* or [*κυρι*]*οῖ*.

That the idea of development in the divine ideal was realised and openly acknowledged is certain. The Kabeiroi, mere savage, naked warriors, gradually change to the gods of an agricultural brotherhood, and then are made into a sort of pantheon showing Zeus, the supreme god, in the midst of a set of gods and goddesses, typical of various sorts of divine activities. Only in the cult did the old order persist. Thinking men quite understood it.

The best example of the definite recognition of such development is found in Aeschylus in the first lines of his *Eumenides*, where the Pythian priestess does reverence and worship, first to Gaia, the Earth-goddess, the first giver of prophecy, then to Themis (law and justice), who took her place and gave moral form to the ruder simpler conception. Later, a change of sex was accomplished by interposing Phoebe between Themis and Phoebus Apollo, the oracular god of Delphi through all later time.

The change from deity to deity is explicitly stated by the priestess to have been a process of peaceful growth, not of violence nor intrusion of one deity into the rights and powers of another. Aeschylus puts this truth most emphatically. Apollo came from Delos, from east westwards, and was speeded on his way by the Athenians.

The insignificance of sex is an Anatolian characteristic, often taking ludicrous and even ugly forms, as the Carian Hermaphroditic deities. At Delphi the change from goddess to god was made by putting Phoebe, an unimportant and meaningless personality, between Themis and Apollo. She transmits the right to her grandson Phoebus Apollo as a birth gift, made to a child on the ninth day after birth, when it was carried round the hearth, and name and presents were given to it.

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[1] *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, Pt. I. p. 141.

A scholiast asserts plainly that Phoebe was the sister of Leto, and she gave the prophetic power and seat on Parnassus to her nephew, Leto's son. All is represented as voluntary by the poet, all is peaceful; and yet the great change is accomplished from the old Titanian regime to the new Olympian system, for Gaia and her moralised form Themis, and Phoebe, belonged to the Titanic powers.

The Athenians aided in sending on Apollo to Delphi. They cut the Sacred Way by a rather roundabout road: the mountains and forests were almost trackless; and, when an embassy was sent to Delphi from Athens in historic time to consult the god, axes went in front, as a scholiast says, in order to make the path easy. The Athenians were geographically suited to convoy Apollo, also poetically, to glorify the god in their tragedy, and finally mythologically, for they were the descendants of Erichthonios, whose parents were Earth and Hephaestus.

Euripides follows a different tradition, or modifies it: he makes the transition at Delphi take place by force.

CHAPTER XX

THE MOON-GODDESS IN ANATOLIA

Three reliefs were drawn at Zemme on the imperial estate of the Prepennisseis in 1884 by Lady Ramsay, and are here reproduced. They occupied three sides of an altar, and on such an estate the subjects are peculiarly instructive, for the imperial agriculturists were not encouraged, and were hardly allowed to grow in civilisation. The Emperor was their lord, and they were almost his serfs. This unhealthy state of the peasants on the vast imperial estates was one of the causes that produced the degeneration of the Roman Empire.

On one side the relief represents evidently the moon-goddess. The crescent moon occupies most of her body, and there is also a hint of the ova of the Ephesian goddess; she is a complex personality. On her head is a horned cap, resembling in some degree an ox-head in the ordinary conventional form.

At the Phrygian city of Pisidian Antioch Men was the great god. He seems to monopolise all the attributes of both god and goddess. In the excavations at the Sanctuary only the scantiest traces of the goddess were found. Antioch was refounded as a Greek garrison city and a Roman military colony, to guard against the attacks of Pisidians and Homanadeissians, and the male divinity was worshipped almost to the exclusion of the female by the soldiery. Moreover, distinctions of sex in the divine nature were little regarded (see also p. 276). Hence he is apt to be

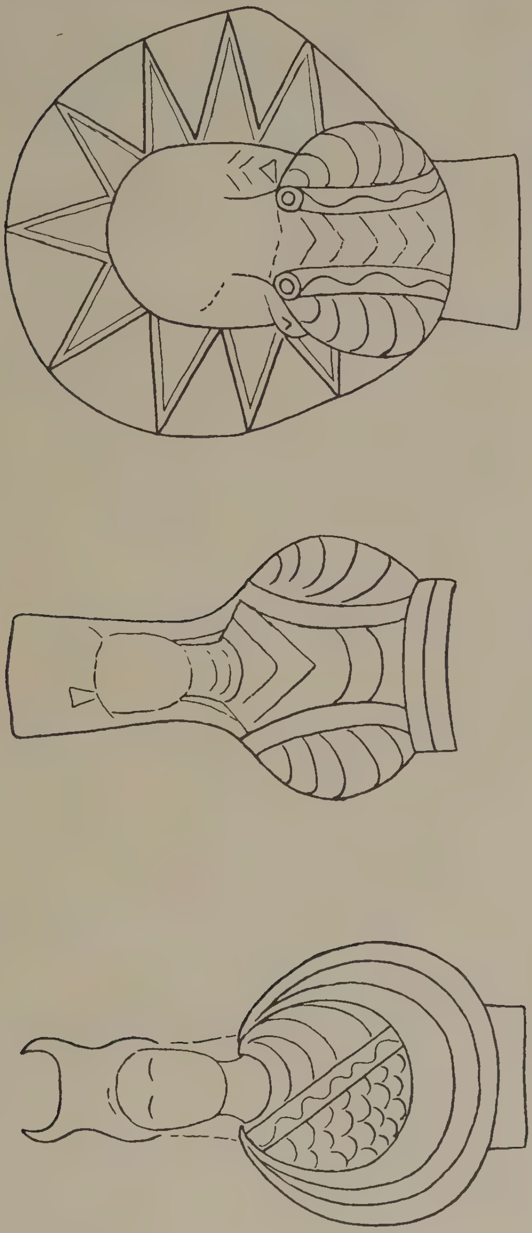

Fig. 8.

regarded as the Moon god, and he always wears the crescent over his shoulders, and puts his foot on the bull's head.

Yet I believe he was originally the Hittite or Anatolian Masnes, whose name became Mannes, Manes, and in Greek Men ; and that originally wings stood out from his shoulders, not the horns of the crescent moon.

On the opposite side is a much-defaced relief of a radiated head and bust, obviously the sun-god ; the details are too uncertain to afford ground for reasoning.[1]

In the central face (opposite to that which contained the inscription) is a bust of the Mother-goddess with lofty head-dress and veil hanging lightly to her shoulders. She is slightly smaller than the other two figures ; the supreme power apparently bulked less in the life of the people than the more active subordinate powers. Activity was no proof of superior rank in Asia. Hermes, the messenger god and the chief speaker, was the subordinate power to Zeus in the Isaurian and Lycaonian country.

[1] Luke xiii. 20.

CHAPTER XXI

ROMANCE AND CHIVALRY

Romance and Chivalry are ideas foreign to the Greeks. They involve an element of unselfishness and even self-forgetfulness and self-sacrifice, to which the Hellenes never attained. There is abundant patriotism among them, though it is not patriotism to a common universal Greek nation, but patriotism to the confined narrow group of some glen or district, and is quite consistent with hatred and war against neighbours beyond the fixed limits. Boeotia hated Attica. Attica despised and loathed Boeotia, almost as much as it hated and ridiculed the Scythians, from whom it derived mainly its subsistence. The common man of Athens lived almost entirely on bread made of corn from the Black Sea (Roumanian) rich fields, and the tunny-fish, with a few vegetables grown at home.

Perhaps the only trace of chivalry in Greek history is in the conduct and character of Callicratidas, the Spartan general who stubbornly stood his ground at Arginussae. There is in him more than mere patriotism. He was esteemed a friend by both enemies and his own men ; he refused always to take any advantage of his foes except in fair combat ; he was a good and honourable fighter, and a brave man.

The romantic in scenery was never appreciated by the Greeks. They loved comfortable and restful landscape ; the impressive was not to their taste, and was rather disliked. There are in Homer traces of appreciation of the romantic aspect of scenery, and even the storm was not an object of dread; but it was not appreciated by the Greeks of the true Hellenic period, 500–400.

Almost the only instance of appreciation by an individual of what we should call the romantic and impressive in scenery is recorded of a pure Asiatic, King Xerxes. When he reached Thermus-Thessalonica, he was struck by the wonderful view of Olympus and the mountains on both sides of the famous gorge of Tempe, and, finding that his march would not bring him within a good near view, he embarked on board a special trireme in order to enjoy the spectacle. One cannot imagine a Hellene of the great period doing or feeling anything like this.

The same circumstance suggests that, when Xerxes allowed the three Greek corn-ships to pass his bridge over the Hellespont, he may have been actuated by higher motives than the Greeks could appreciate. They thought he was merely a fool and a braggadocio; but probably there was a touch in his action of the unselfishness which desired a fair fight and a clean victory. To neglect any advantage was to the Greeks pure folly; and there are cases where patriotism in war must neglect no advantage that chance offers.

So much must be allowed, but we admire more the fair fighter than the man that looks for every advantage. Some of us would say of such a man and his leadership, "c'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre"; but the old Hellenes would have called it "stupide," instead of "magnifique."

In art and literature, chivalry or romance is singularly lacking. The combat between civilisation and barbarism was portrayed as a fight between men and women on both sides of the Aegean, in greatest perfection on the Asiatic side, but there largely by the artists scattered through the impoverishment of Athens by war.

In literature there are many pictures of delightful scenery; but love of home and country is stronger generally than love of the romantic in nature. In Sophocles' *Ajax* the famous ode, with its appeal to Pan and Mt. Cyllene, is an exquisite example of poetry and of the human yet not unselfish element. In Homer many touches show pure delight in the beautiful side of scenery, but they come mainly from Asiatic Yavan, not from typical Hellenes of Greece. In *Iliad* xiii. 795-799 the picture of the tossing sea under a keen strong north wind is magnificent, and shows the hand of a poet that has seen the sight. I have seen it only in the winter, "when the wind blew snell an' cauld." In the *Iliad* it is the attack of the Trojans that is pictured in the simile. Again in *Iliad* viii. 557-559 the comparison of the twinkling lights of the Trojan camp in the plain to the stars on a moonlit night reveals pure unselfish delight in the beauty of sky and earth; yet here there is at the end a touch of the Hellenic love of usefulness and making life easy, "the shepherd rejoices in his heart." Pope puts in the right touch of the Greek spirit when he makes the shepherd "bless the useful light."

Callinus, another Asian poet, has a pure love of romantic beauty in his scanty remains.

Yet, as a whole, the want of that element of unselfishness and love of nature for its own sake, apart from its effect on self, is characteristic of the Hellenic spirit; and the traces of its presence are found on the Asian side of the Aegean Sea, not in European Greece.

CHAPTER XXII

GODS AND HEROES IN HOMER

(1) The Date of Homer.—The best authorities are Herodotus (who gathered the floating tradition in the ports of Asia Minor and Attica) and the Parian Marble: these give (approximate) 820 and 900 B.C. as the date. A friend would prefer 1000 B.C.

When we take into consideration the introduction of Asian legend, as in Chapter VI., the interposing of the gods into the real events of the war, and the very free, frequently impious, handling of this divine interposition, we must, as I think, admit the long interval which Greek tradition attests.

It was, of course, characteristic of the Asian Greek spirit to travesty the old mythology, and to exhibit the gods in ludicrous situations. Not merely do the gods take sides in the war, they fight with one another, wound one another, make peace and heal their mutual quarrels, and they are even attacked by mortal men.

The most sacred scene of the "Mysteries," the "Holy Marriage" of the god and goddess, is caricatured both in the *Iliad* and in the *Odyssey*. In the *Iliad* it becomes part of the action of the war of Troy, and is used as a device by the goddess to tempt the god from watching the conflict and thus give time to the Greeks to press their advantage. The flowers that spring on Ida and carpet the ground at the due season[1] are transformed into an incident of the war, accompanying the seduction of the god of Heaven, the sender of rain, from his duty in holding the scales fair in the conflict of men.

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[1] Well described by Dr. Walter Leaf, *Troy*, 10 f.

In the *Odyssey* Ares and Aphrodite are trapped in the sacred marriage, and exposed to the derision of the gods. What was secret and sacred and not allowed to be seen when done on earth in the mystic ritual was made open and public in heaven by the god Hephaestus. Here heaven is on a lower order of morality than earth.

A transformation such as this was certainly gradual ; but how long it took we cannot guess. We can only follow the tradition.

(2) ACHILLES AND HELENA.—Achilles was not merely the real hero of the *Iliad* and of the Trojan War. He was one of the most widely known and worshipped gods or heroes of the Greek world, both east and west of the Dardanelles and Troy: it is needless to summarise the list of cult-places enumerated in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Encycl.* s.v. From Kroton on the west to the remotest depths of the Black Sea he was reverenced. The coast of the Black Sea was ringed round with places that bore his name, and he was worshipped as Achilles Pontarches, both on the south coast at Sinope and on the west coast (modern Roumania) in the Pentapolis (or Hexapolis). He was the Lord of the Black Sea, who had disclosed the wonders and the wealth of the Pontus to the early mariners. One of his temples was in the island Leuke, off the mouths of the Danube. Storm-tossed sailors found here a haven of rest, and strange tales were told about this uninhabited islet, where Achilles and Helena dwelt together; after a wandering, harassed life came the blissful rest for the heroes and for the sailors alike.

The Anatolian conception was that the dead man becomes a god to his descendants, and his grave is the temple where they meet and celebrate his rites, chiefly the annual feast on the day of his death. Achilles the hero, therefore, becomes a god to all his worshippers. The only remarkable thing is the wide extent of his cult. A grave was frequently his temple, and the women mourned him in Elis with vehement mourning of the Oriental type. He is the god who dies young, the life of the year and of nature, withered by the hot sun. The grave and the mourning are the two essential features of his worship.

Homer is in a certain sense what he has often been called, the Bible of Hellenism. He has advanced far beyond the stage when the Greeks of Asia were developing separately on their own lines, and he was felt to be the poet of the entire Greek world; yet his origin and surroundings are clearly Anatolian, and from him we may date the first beginnings of the spirit of Hellenism, though it took centuries to develop it, and then it faded quickly, like the hero-god Achilles.

It is a blissful ending to a long and memorable war. Helena is the prize of victory, and the hero-goddess dwells with the hero-god in the islet of the Black Sea. Sailors worshipped them together. In Christian times St. Phocas of Sinope was the object of the sailors' vows in the Euxine, just as St. Nicholas, originally a bishop of Myra, played the same part in the eastern Mediterranean. In his great church at Bari Italian sailors going to the east made and paid their vows. The Adriatic Sea and the entrance between Albania and Italy is often dangerous. For the old small sailing ships there were many risks on the voyage round the south coast of Greece and Crete and Asia Minor. St. Nicholas was the saviour to whom sailors on that route prayed.

Between Troy and Homer many great changes had occurred in the Aegean world. The Achaeans are presented to us in the Hittite inscriptions as the great power on the west coast of Asia Minor. In the Trojan War the Achaeans, under their king Agamemnon, were the leaders of the traders from the Aegean who were bent on forcing their way into the Black Sea, and resisting the impositions placed upon their trade by the robber city of Troy. After the Trojan War there occurs apparently a reversal of the current of civilisation. The Ionians are represented as migrating from

Greece into Asia Minor, but any such return movement must have been comparatively unimportant.

The Old-Ionians, the Sons of Javan, are beyond all doubt a race which originally had its home and conducted its trade and its colonisation on the coasts of Asia Minor. They are presented to us in the tenth chapter of Genesis as the great power. By them were the lands of the west civilised and partly peopled. They represent all that the Semites knew about a Greek people. In Cilicia, in Tarsus, in Rhodes[1] they have their settlements, and are brought in contact with the Semite. At the present day, or until the results of the Great War had caused such enormous changes, Cilicia was the meeting-place of East and West, of Greeks and Syrian Asiatics, and there was a mixture of Syriac-speaking peoples with Turkish- and Greek-speaking races. The traveller felt, as he passed down through the Cilician Gates from the central plateau to the low land of Cilicia, that he was passing from one world and one set of nationalities to another. So it was in the time when Genesis chapter x. was written.

In the *Iliad*, however, the Ionians play a very subordinate part. They are represented as somewhat effeminate, while the Achaeans have ousted them from the leadership of the eastward movement. The so-called Ionian migration from European Greece back to Asia Minor can hardly be considered such an important event as it is represented to be in modern presentation of history. It was due to the event called the Return of the Herakleidae, which was really an invasion of Greece from the Balkan Peninsula; but, as usual, mythology sought a moral justification for invasion, and presented it as a return of the descendants of ancient heroes. Mythology always tended to present the past as the reign of law and justice and ancient right. It is clear that certain Ionian chiefs were driven eastward to the Aegean Coast, and were received there with the respect due to their ancient lineage, and became leaders in the cities where they settled. The whole of Anatolian history, down to the centralisation policy of Mahmud II. about 1830, shows itself as moved by great local families, who led, and were beloved by a sturdy peasantry.

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[1] Following 1 Chronicles i. 7 (Rodanim), not Genesis x. 4 (Dodanim).

(3) THE LANGUAGE OF GODS AND OF MEN IN HOMER.—In the *Odyssey* Circe is able to speak with human voice. In the *Iliad* Xanthos, the horse of Achilles, speaks once with human voice, tells that a god caused Patroclus' death at the hand of Hector, and prophesies the death of Achilles at the hand of a god and a man. Hera gifts the horse for a few minutes with power of speech ; and forthwith the Erinyes stopped his voice (xix. 47). When Apollo encouraged Hector to resist the Greeks, Hector heard the voice of the god (*i.e.* human speech, xv. 270).

Aude seems to be appropriate to a man, or to a god or an animal speaking with human voice. The law of nature, *i.e.* the Erinyes, assign to each kind its own method of expression.

The chief river of the Trojan plain was called by the gods Xanthos, and by men Scamander ; a certain bird was called Chalkis by the gods, and Kumindis by men ; a mound near the Trojan gate was called by the immortals the Sign (Sêma) of dancing Myrina, and Batieia by men. Two languages are implied, that used by the gods, and that used by men. They cannot be understood to be Greek and an Anatolian or Trojan language. The Greeks would not have renamed the rivers and birds and localities of Troy in their ten years' war.

There must have been some holy language about which Homer had some knowledge. There was such a language in the Hittite inscriptions of Anatolia, and in it are expressed prophecies. It has not yet been deciphered, and Forrer has given it the title Proto-Hittite, a mere description.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE NATURE OF THE PHRYGIAN MYSTERIES

Lady Ramsay and I saw in the possession of a Greek an extremely rude relief which is of considerable hieratic interest; it is evidently common coarse village work. In the centre sits the goddess, wearing the veil in the usual fashion. She holds a large torch in both hands at her left side. The torch reaches from the ground nearly as high as the level of the shoulder. Beside her, to the spectator's left, is a male figure, whose head reaches about half-way up her head. His smaller size doubtless indicates that he is a man, either priest or worshipper. On the other side of the goddess is a seated male figure, evidently the god, holding in his left hand a cup. In front of him is a table or altar, on which stand two cups. In the zone immediately under this relief, not divided from it by any special band of ornament, are a tree and a goat. The goat apparently is browsing on the foliage of the tree. The two zones are Heaven and Earth (Chapter XV.).

Two features in this relief arrest attention. (1) The goddess holds a large torch in her hand. The importance of the torch in the worship of Cybele has been already indicated by various slight details. Near Pisidian Antioch we found an inscription belonging to the period about 300 after Christ, which describes the equipment of an artificial closed chamber called antron. Part of the equipment was a large torch (*δάος*). (2) The priest of a group of deities not far north of Antioch is called Lampadephoros. In this present relief we have the goddess herself represented as a torch-bearer, daophoros or dadouchos, which must be taken as equivalent to lampadephoros. She does what her priest does, giving him the lesson of divine ritual (Chapter XV.).

We have now the names of at least three of the principal priests in the cult of Cybele in Eastern Phrygia, the torch-bearer, the archigallos, and the hierophantes, whose name may be inferred with confidence from the title sebastophantes, which appears more than once.

The inscription has almost wholly disappeared. There was one line above the relief and one or more lines underneath.

The god sits by the goddess, equal in a sense and yet secondary to the central figure. The cup, which indicates a rite of drinking, may be taken as symbolical of the Holy Marriage, in which the drinking of the common cup was a feature (see Chapter XVIII.). The Greek in whose possession the relief was said that it had been found near Yali-Baiyat, the site of Savatra. Then after a while he mentioned that he himself had brought it from Zebir, and that five[1] years previously he had seen Professor Calder near Zebir, but had not allowed him to get a sight of the stone. Calder, however, while confirming the Greek's statement that the owner had seen him in that neighbourhood, contradicted the other part of his assertion by producing the copy of the stone which he had taken, with the owner's consent, at the time.

A similar rude village inscription from Zebir was seen by Lady Ramsay and me at Konia in 1914.[2] There can be little doubt about the reading of this inscription, though it is written in the most rude fashion. It is a dedication by a lady and her husband to the

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[1] No importance attaches to the number; but it happens not to be far wrong, as Calder came to Asia Minor for the first time in 1908. The Greek was trying to exaggerate the value of a valuable stone.

[2] The same Greek mentioned in Section H owned and showed it to us in 1924, and told its history. It is published from Calder's copy, in *J.H.S.*, 1924, p. 3 and Plate I. I cannot agree that it dates from the third or fourth century; it is simply rude village work, which cannot be dated.

Mother who reigns at Andeira. Pliny speaks about Andeira as one of the ancient cities of Phrygia, and when we also compare with this the village Adeira, which occurs in inscriptions both at Sari-Kaya[1] and at Laodiceia of Lycaonia, we can entertain no doubt that the usual name of the village is Andeira with the common nasalisation; and we must infer that this ancient town was one of the old seats of the worship of the goddess in the central part of the great plain west of Lake Tatta. This goddess was the protector of her people and teacher of the management of goats. She revealed to men the art of domesticating the goat, and the careful breeding by which some remarkable species of this animal were produced. In all probability the modern Angora goat is one form of the special breeds produced under the guidance of the divine teacher.

It is also an interesting point to notice that here, as in one or two other cases, the lady is mentioned first and her husband later, and apparently the husband Manes is mentioned as son of Nonna, his mother's name being given and not his father's name.[2] We are in this way placed in a very primitive condition of Anatolian society, which might be expected to last longer amid the simple, pastoral people of the great plains than in any other part of the country. The figure of the goddess is rude in the very last degree, so much so that it is difficult to have any certainty whether it is intended to represent a god or a goddess, unless the inscription were there to show what was the intention of the artist.

It is, I think, maintained in Ritter's *Kleinasien*, a monumental work, and by other writers, that the introduction of the Angora goat, with its beautiful silky fleece, into the country is due to the nomads; and, indubitably, the breeding and keeping of these goats is to a considerable extent in their hands. But it would be as reasonable to maintain that the nomads brought the sheep into the land, on the ground that they now have in their hands most of the flocks. I should be disposed to demand some better evidence before accepting it as a fact that the Angora goat was unknown to the ancient inhabitants of the plateau. To take a parallel case, it is certain that the glossy black wool of the Laodicean sheep, and the violet-dark wool of the sheep of Colossae, which are celebrated under the Roman Empire and earlier, are no longer produced. Pococke in the first half of the eighteenth century saw a great many black sheep; Chandler saw only a few black and glossy in the early part of the nineteenth century; my experience agrees with Chandler's, except that I have not seen any glossy black fleeces. It is obvious that through carelessness the two breeds have been allowed to degenerate and disappear. The peculiar character of the fleeces was doubtless maintained by some kind of cross-breeding, and not, as some people have suggested, by any peculiar property of the water or the grass. Similarly, in the case of the Angora wool, a careful observer who had had long experience in the trade, an Englishman, whom I met at Angora in 1886, assured me that the true secret of the peculiar character of the fleece lay in the proper breeding. He declared as a fact known to him that the beautiful silky goats had to be crossed regularly both with the common black and the red goats (twice with the one kind, once with the other) in a certain number of generations: I cannot trust myself to give his exact statistics. He asserted that the reason why the Angora goat tended to degenerate whenever the attempt was made to naturalise it elsewhere, was that the secret of breeding was unknown and the goats were kept studiously pure in breed, instead of being strengthened by regular recurrence to the fundamental stock.

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[1] I saw an inscription with this name at Sari-Kaya in 1905.

[2] Reckoning of descent through the mother is mentioned by Herodotus as a Lycian custom.

It is safe to assert, therefore, that the breeding of the Angora goat, the Laodicean sheep, and the Colossian sheep are secrets inherited by the Turks from the old people of Asia Minor. I have found two inscriptions of Pessinus, mentioning gifts of tunics, socks, etc., sent to the Emperor Trajan by a Galatian lady:[1] the socks which she thought worth sending to the Roman Emperor were probably similar to those glossy beautiful socks of Angora wool which are still sold at Sivri-Hissar,[2] for she would not send such articles unless there were something remarkable and unique about them.

One curious illustration of the continuity of customs and ways from pre-Turkish time down to the present day is furnished by St. Jerome. He draws a contrast between the Arabs, who eat locusts, and the natives of Phrygia or Pontus, who would regard it as an unnatural thing if they were forced to eat a locust.[3] The same contrast impresses the traveller at the present day: the people of Anatolia regard the locust, or the idea of eating it, with horror, but the Arabs feed with relish on locusts. Sir Charles Wilson pointed out this contrast to me many years ago. Now this aversion to a food which is declared to be perfectly wholesome is not likely to have been originally shared in by the Turks, a barbarous people coming from a country where food was scarce. This little trait is typical of many which force all the travellers known to me, who have been most familiar with Asia Minor, to the conclusion that the so-called Turkish people of that country is fundamentally the ancient Anatolian population, into which the Turkish conquerors have melted, affecting it doubtless to some extent in the process, but disappearing in it, while they affected it.

In studying the inscriptions and monuments of Konia I have, in long residence, made it a special care to distinguish those which belong to the city from those which are mere village work. I have traced to their origin inscriptions found in very diverse regions, some from Adalia and Istanoz in the south-west, some from Savatra and Arissama on the east, some from Kybistra-Eregli and Tyana on the south-east, some from Isaura Nova on the south, some from Zebiz and that district on the north. Monuments which I bought and deposited at the Konia Museum (and even in the Imperial Museum at Stamboul) are now being published, or have been published as unknown or belonging to Konia. This makes scientific study of history impossible.

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[1] Still unpublished.

[2] See *Impressions of Turkey during Twelve Years' Wanderings*, p. 201.

[3] "Compelle Phrygem et Ponticum ut locustam comedat, nefas putabit," *Adv. Jovin.* iii. 7.

CHAPTER XXIV

DOMESTICATION OF ANIMALS

As the Mother goddess herself had taught to mankind for their benefit the domestication of certain animals, the natural inference is that it was wrong to kill them. Definitive evidence cannot be cited in every case ; but the existence of domesticated animals was so necessary to mankind that it must be protected by the strongest religious sanction. Among the Phrygians[1] it was a capital crime to slay an ox used in ploughing.[2] To kill a goat was an impiety, and had to be expiated and atoned for,[3] even though it was killed as a sacrifice. The meat of the ordinary sacrifice was shared by priests and sacrificers. Much of such meat offered to idols was sold to butchers, and then again sold in their shops. This caused much difficulty to casuists among the early Christians. Any meat in a feast was certain to have been sacrificed : were they to eat it or to refuse it and be discourteous to host and fellow-guest? St. Paul was consulted by the Corinthians and laid down the rule of politeness. They should eat, asking no questions for conscience' sake : *i.e.* they should not obtrude their scruples on others. But, if any person openly challenged them, declaring that the meat had been offered to an idol, then they should decline to eat.

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[1] Phrygian usually means Anatolian: the Phrygian conquerors melted into the Anatolian population, especially in religious matters. Phrygian was almost equivalent to slave in classical times.

[2] Nic. Damasc. in Dindorf, *Histor. Graec. Min.* i. p. 148.

[3] Inscription quoted in *Cit. and Bish. of Phrygia*, Pt. I. pp. 138, 150, τὸ ἱερὸν ἄθυτον αἰγοτόμιον.

An archaic religious ceremony among the Athenians, a specially autochthonous and Pelasgian race, illustrates how the early prohibition of the sacrifice of an ox survived as a ritual ceremony. When domestication began, it was necessary to preserve the earliest domesticated animals, which could be done only by religious sanction as in Phrygia. Yet sacrifices were needed, and so was food. Hence arose the old Bouphonia, a much-misunderstood rite. A herd of oxen was driven past an altar on which corn was scattered. The first ox that came to eat the corn was slain and sacrificed by ministering priests. The guilty priests then threw down their weapons and fled. In their absence the weapons that had slain a sacred animal were tried for murder, condemned, and thrown into the sea. There is a certain similarity between this chance selection of the victim and the chance erection of altars by Epimenides (see Chapter III.). The flesh of the victim was eaten; its skin was stuffed with straw and harnessed to a plough.

The exact details of the Bouphonia are not certain; but the general character of the rite is clear and instructive. The name literally means "the ceremonies connected with the slaying of the ox."[1] The ox was tempted to commit an impious act at the altar; he was slain for impiety, but the slayer was himself a murderer; the guilt of the murderer was visited on the guilty weapon; finally the pretence was kept up that the ox was still fit for agriculture. All guilt was punished; pretence ruled supreme in this archaic ceremony; substitution preserved an old religious law, and yet avoided its sternness.[2]

Purificatory sacrifices were burned whole, and were the property of the god that gave purification; but in general the idea was that a religious act was a bargain. The worshipper gave to the god, and received a return from the god. This was the religious covenant among the Greeks. Religion was a business transaction, as Plato says. According to Hesiod the first bargain was made in the ancient Sikyon (Mêkôńe), where in the ordinary sacrifice Zeus was cheated through his greed: the offal and the skin were laid on one side, the best part of the meat on the other, and Zeus chose as his share the apparently bigger mass. Such was the Greek idea of the covenant between God and man and of the Promise of God.

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[1] A usual sense of the plural: cp. Διὸς Γοναί, the ceremonies associated with the birth of Zeus, seen on coins of Tralles, not the birth, but the dancing Korubantes clashing their weapons to drown his cries.

[2] See Frazer, *Golden Bough*, ed. 2, vol. ii. p. 294 f.: also Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, v. p. 117, art. "Religion of Greece and Asia Minor."

CHAPTER XXV

FESTIVALS AND TRADE

When we first explored the Lycus valley it was inhabited only by Turks, with one Greek village high above Colossai on the steep side of Chonas Dagh, planted there in safety from the Arab raids between A.D. 660 and 964. A few Greek traders were beginning to settle in the towns like Sarai-Keui and Denizli ("full of waters"), the latter the chief city of the region. At Sarai-Keui ("Mansion-village") we were informed that the village was chiefly modern, and that there was formerly held a market near the site of Attoudda, which had lasted through the Middle Ages. This was evidently the survival of one of the very ancient international and intertribal markets, which were such an important influence in determining the growth of civilisation in the Aegean and Anatolian world. Such markets and exchanges were the resort of merchants from a wide range of country. Safety and fair dealing were the necessary conditions of the market, and these were guaranteed by the goddess. The congregated merchants met in her worship, and she, as Dika or as Nemesis, made the laws of fair trade and punished all who broke her law. The markets were her festivals, and there was much enjoyment as well as trade and religious ritual at such meetings. There gathered a motley crowd (see Strabo, xii. 8. 17, p. 578: also Chapter V.).

Already in the Homeric Hymn to the Delian Apollo the range of such a market and religious feast is described. The power of Apollo of Delos extended as far as Crete, Aegina, Athens, Thessaly, Samothrace and the Troad, Lemnos, Lesbos, Claros, and Samos: in other words, his worshippers came as traders to the central market of the Aegean world with all its coasts and islands. The festival of the Panagia, the Mother of God, at Tenos, has been the modern survival of the ancient Delian market.

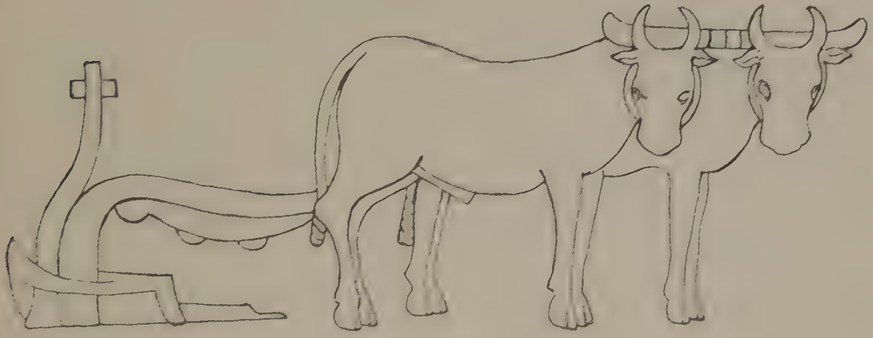

FIG. 9.

CHAPTER XXVI

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

(1) European and Asiatic Greeks.—In comparing the Greek with the Anatolian or even with the Old-Ionian speech, we must disabuse ourselves of the idea that the Greeks of Europe are the same race as the Old-Ionians of Asia. They are related, and their general similarity of origin was fostered and increased by the frequent and growing intercourse between them.

Their situation, with a long and deeply indented coast-line,[1] compelled them to be seafarers, not land-travellers ; and the Aegean Sea with its numerous islands tempted them on westwards and eastwards. They were really very close neighbours, because the sea, with its regular winds,[2] which could be calculated with almost perfect certainty, did not disjoin them, but formed a path for them. It was not an "estranging sea," but a pathway and a bond of union (as was proved and also disproved in the famous history of the intended massacre at Mitylene by the Athenian democracy). They had the same enemies, as they were both threatened, and were ultimately overcome by invading hosts from Inner Asia ; and the Mermnad Lydians and Phrygians in later time (probably also the Carians), introducing a dominant armed conquering caste of soldiers from

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[1] See *Histor. Geogr. of Asia Minor*, pp. 24 f. Arcadia must be excepted.

[2] The Etesian winds, which are often mentioned, and which Pliny and others try to restrict to a certain brief period of the year, are really winds that regularly blow during considerable part of the year, from about dawn mainly north, calm in the later day, dead calm at sunset, and south during the night.

Macedonia and Thrace, were more or less active enemies; so also were the Gauls.

The same lesson is taught in history, and vainly repeated from time to time through the centuries. Every attempt to create a European Greek domination on the Asian coasts has resulted in disaster and ruin. The Athenian Empire in the fifth century B.C. was short-lived, and only weakened the civilising power and stopped the development of Athens. The brief domination of Sparta on the Asiatic coast was a mere passing episode, which did no good to any one concerned, least of all to Sparta. There is, doubtless, truth in the semi-historic accounts of emigration from European Greece to Asiatic coasts in the century after the Trojan War; for the exact statements about the sons of Codrus, and the Pylian Oikistai and Thymbraros of Thessaly, etc., are too detailed to be mere legends; they satisfied Strabo, who was a good judge, and had at his command[1] much historical material, now lost. They may well satisfy us. But those colonists went not as conquerors, but as noble refugees, seeking asylum, not dominion. They made cities, not empire.

The proper rôle of the Greeks is peaceful penetration and the possession of trade. When they try to fight and create foreign domination they are ruined, and are the cause of ruin to others. The Balkan peoples, Macedonian and Thracians with the later Gauls, conquered and made new states; but they gradually merged in the conquered peoples and adopted a mixed Graeco-Asiatic system of society and government. The Gaulish soldiers clung tenaciously to a Gallic tribal system, but their chiefs soon practised and inculcated conformity to the native religion and the native manners; and the united people as a whole acquiesced in the native custom, which was afterwards Christianised.[2]

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[1] There are strong corroborating circumstances in the constitution of several cities east of the Aegean.

[2] A Gaulish god in Galatia of Roman time: Boussurigios, Anderson.

Long before the migrations which arose out of the Trojan War, with its great results in opening the Dardanelles and the Black Sea to freedom of trade, the "sons of Yavan," *i.e.* the Greeks of Asia, were in active intercourse with the Asiatic peoples of Western Asia, and the point of contact was in the Aegean archipelago (as that ancient document contained in Genesis chap. x. shows). The Anatolian Bridge between East and West has been the path of civilisation and mutual influence between Asia and Europe.

The Central Anatolian Plateau has been the pathway and the scene of war and of peaceful trade and intercourse between Ionians (Yavan) and Ashkenaz of the inner country, as the Aegean Sea has been between European and Asiatic Greeks. The resulting system in Asia Minor has always been neither Asiatic nor European, but a mixed civilisation, half Greek, half Oriental, really Graeco-Asiatic.[1] To avoid misunderstanding, it is best to sum up all the Greeks of Asia under the Semitic term "Sons of Yavan"; the great historical record preserved in Genesis x. must be always kept before us. The name Yavan, *i.e.* Ion, has been preserved only by one section of the Asian Greeks, the Ionians, who proved the most progressive and enterprising of all. Yet eventually Asian Aeolians and Asian Dorians are included in Genesis x. as the "Sons of Yavan." The dialects differed in the historic period, but the difference resulted from the more rapid development of the Ionian speech; it is fairly certain that the earliest Ionian speech was closer to the Aeolian dialect on the north-eastern coast than to its developed form in Herodotus; and the great Doric school of medicine, with its chief representative in Hippokrates, employed Ionic, not Doric, to express its growing science (see Chapter I.).

The attempts of European Greece to dominate the west coasts of Asia Minor have not merely failed: they have even during their brief period of apparent success roused bitter feeling among the Old-

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[1] As Mitteis has shown.

Ionian races against the European Greeks; this hatred produced dissension and even war; where European domination lasted, it provoked rebellion of the Asian Greeks, the sons of Yavan, against European Greeks. In this way the valuable influence of the Greek element in Asia Minor was weakened and wasted. The Roman Empire in its best days always regarded Hellenism and the Hellenic language as its most useful ally and agent in dominating Asia; and in this case also war proved to be a bad and disintegrating influence. All that Rome accomplished in Asia for good was the work of peace and intercourse and trade, and of facilitating travel in the interest of science or of commerce. War was an almost unmixed evil, except in so far as it was temporarily required to stem the progress of some Barbarian like Mithridates, and of later tribes pressing in from Central Asia. Augustus had this danger always in his mind, and Horace says that he was even watching the possible movements in China and their effect on the Empire.

(2) VARIETIES OF ORTHOGRAPHY.—It is necessary to weigh against one another the style of speech that is characteristic of Anatolia and that of European Greece. Even the dialects of the Ionian and Aeolian and Dorian Greeks of Asia partake of certain characteristics that are Anatolian and non-European. The western Greeks were weak in pronouncing the spirants "w" and "y" (which are frequently used in Anatolia), and had no Greek symbols to indicate them. What was to be done? Greek had distinct nasal sounds and symbols, but no nasalised vowels; the Greeks did not pronounce sharply or clearly an initial aspiration, and they did not use a variety of sibilants.

Gradually or from the first those disabilities affected their alphabet (borrowed from Asia). Symbols that were unnecessary passed out of use or were used in new meanings. The spirant "F," indicating a sound something like our "w" or "v," was disused in most Greek dialects at an early date; it was the lost digamma. The spirant "y" seems never to have had any special symbol, but was sometimes represented by "i" or occasionally in late inscriptions by doubling the symbol "ii," as the sound only appeared between iota and a following vowel. The ghost of digamma remained in the rough breathing at the beginning of words, which is hard to distinguish from the smooth breathing and was little more than a mere graphic survival.[1] Nasalised vowels were practically never represented graphically in Greek (except perhaps in some Asianic dialects); the symbols passed out of the Greek alphabet, and their very meaning was forgotten. In European Greece generally, amid many varieties of dialect, the sibilants were simplified to sigma and double sigma. In Attic σσ often became ττ, and was so written: this remarkable change in graphic expression corresponds to some real fact of pronunciation. Yet an old symbol of various form T or ϕ or ψ was long used in remote half-Greek districts, and implied a sibilant strange to the most typical abodes of the Greek civilisation. We must represent it by "sh," and I make no attempt to give a precise scientific definition.[2]

The spirant "w" or "v" is represented in late Anatolian inscriptions by ου or β indifferently, or it is dropped out entirely in some cases. In modern Greek it is represented by β, while there is no way of indicating the English "b" except by the cumbrous μπ.

What was the case in the Anatolian spoken language with all these difficulties, and many more? Yet all our surviving authorities wrote Greek. Educated Anatolians in the Hellenistic and Roman periods learned the Greek language, and had often to face and fail to overcome the difficulties in writing Anatolian personal and place names; *ου* or *β* or *υ* or even nothing represent our "w" or "v" almost indiscriminately. The sound is omitted in some cases, as in Ἴσαρᾳ for Ἴσαυρα (see Miss Ramsay in *Studies in the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 47).

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[1] There is no difference perceptible to my ear between the rough and the smooth breathing in modern popular pronunciation of Greek, though perhaps some purists and worshippers of antiquity try to express some difference; and a Greek teacher in 1879 instructed me to regard them as identical in sound.

[2] In *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1880, vol. i. p. 242 f., I interpreted ͶΑΝΑΨΑΣ ΠΡΕΙΙΑΣ on coins of Perga in Pamphylia as the Greek ϜΑνασσας Πρεγίας; and this has been generally accepted: it means "(a coin) of the Queen of Perga, viz. Artemis."

The Latin alphabet is better suited to express Anatolian pronunciation than the Greek alphabet, and therefore Anatolian words are often presented in Latin lettering throughout the preceding pages. Especially the Greek upsilon is not a good representation of the Anatolian vowel "u," and the Latin vowel should be preferred.

The Greek system of accentuation, a very late invention, intended to aid foreigners in learning Greek, must be abandoned in writing Anatolian words; and even when I have written these in Greek letters, by which they are expressed in our authorities, who are Greek, I have sometimes omitted the accents; although sometimes, whether for mere appearance or because the accent marks may give some indication, I retain the accentuation of the authorities.

The letter "r" appears and disappears in perplexing fashion in Anatolian words as written in Greek alphabet.[1] Probably a soft "r" was used in Asia Minor, as in the English word pretty; but there were doubtless more sounds than one "rho" in Anatolian, although they cannot now be distinguished. In Greek the "rho" was rougher, and is written ῥ, except in Aeolic (which is more Anatolian in type). In Attic *ρρ* took the place of the old *ρσ*, *e.g.* *θάρρος*, *θαρσος*; and initial *ρ* was in Greek doubled after a preposition ending in a short vowel, after *α* negative, and after the augment. Initial "rho" was so pronounced in metre as to lengthen a short vowel at the end of the preceding word. In Aeolic final sigma became "rho"; in Latin the same (or the contrary) was the case, *e.g. honos honoris.* In Latin original "s" between vowels was changed to "r"; the famous Papisius Cursor became Papirius in the third century B.C.

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[1] Examples: Κύβιστρα and Kubista, Μαμιστρα and Mamista, Σιντρίανδος and Σινήθανδος (itself changed from Σινθιανδος to be more like Greek), Σαμονια for Σαμορνα (name of Ephesus in Hesychius), identical in origin with Μύρινα and perhaps Μυῤῥα.

ADDENDUM

THE treatment of patients was akin to the charms and incantations of sorcerers. To judge from analogy, holy texts were often written on paper or leaves; the ink was washed off and the cleansing water was drunk (a practice known still).

The Temple physicians at the Temple did their best to act scientifically; but the patients remembered the dream given by the god, and attributed cures to him—Men Karou.[1]

The school of medicine has often been connected by modern writers with Laodicea but Strabo (p. 580) makes the whole situation clear.

There is a certain analogy between this ancient treatment by suggestion and certain modern schools of physic, *e.g.* the scientific therapeutics of such a great physician as Coué. So also Basil about A.D. 374 speaks of therapeutic treatment which advises the consultation of religious advisers, and trust in prayer. Yet no one ever uttered a higher eulogy of the medical profession than Basil. Writing to the physician Eustathios (*Epist.* 189), he says that "humanity is the regular business of all you who practise as physicians; and in my opinion to put your science at the head of life's pursuits is right. Those who have seen the common village life of Anatolia at the present day are most impressed by the inestimable value of properly trained physicians."

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[1] Karoura, not far to the west, evidently the seat of Men Karou, was the most typical among the names and titles of the god.

The curative properties of the hot springs and baths in this remarkable region, though still recognised, are little used during the writer's experience. This is strange, because other hot springs of Anatolia are often used. There was, however, a break in the continuity of life in the valley of the Tycus and Maeander, probably connected with the devastating wars between the Comnenian Emperors and the Seljuk Turks; and the very site of Attoudda among the foot-hills 3 or 4 miles south of Sarai Keui, is hard to fix (*Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. pp. 52, 132, and 165-169).

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